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ABSTRACT

This report is a record of a two year observational study of a first grade class in a multiracial elementary school located in San Jose, California. The focus of this study is on the processes which characterize the social life of this particular school. Organizing concepts of the study, the method and plan of the study, and the structure of the school are described and discussed. Characteristics explored include ethnicity, sex, talent and academic competence and their relative influence on friendships and other social relationships. Teachers' perceptions of their chosen careers and work settings and principal-teacher relations at the school are investigated. Implications of these findings on the process of socialization among students at the school are considered. Standards of socialization discussed include universalism, independence, and achievement. Reflections on the study are outlined and recommendations dealing with the achievement of equal status relations among children in multiethnic schools are made. (Author/EB)

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FIELD STUDIES IN URBAN DESEGREGATED SCHOOLS

Final Technical Report

for Project NIE 400-76-0007
(F/S 49)

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PREFACE

In May, 1975, the National Institute of Education solicited proposals from people interested in conducting "small-scale studies involving anthropological observations of the process of interracial schooling . . . so as to begin to have a sense of the range and patterns of such settings," (RFP NIE-R-75-0023, p. 5). Spanning two school years, the studies were to examine the processes of schooling at both the classroom and school levels focusing on values, racial attitudes, roles, hierarchies of power, outside influences, levels of satisfaction and the character of the learning environment. In addition, several phenomena "frequently encountered" in desegregating school settings were to be considered including: racial conflict, distinctions between the concepts of "desegregation" and "integration," unequal status contact between racial groups, unstable attendance patterns, unjust disciplinary procedures, differential teacher expectations, patterns of "resegregation" and the concepts of "cultural assimilation" and "cultural pluralism."

The solicitation specified the examination of one elementary, junior or high school located in a city with a population in excess of 100,000 or a school district consisting of 25,000 students or more. The guidelines did not define the term "race" nor did it specify a distribution of students appropriate to qualify a school as "interracial."

In accordance with these directives, this document is a record of a two-year observational study of a multi-racial elementary school located in San Jose, California.

I would like to express appreciation to the several people who made this project possible. Financial assistance from the Equity Division of the National Institute of Education was crucial and gratefully acknowledged. Samuel Bell, Louise Webb, Carol Gilberts, Ann Stranger and Vicki Li provided invaluable assistance in the data collection phase of the project. David Graves and Michael Yearout handled the often tedious task of transcribing the field notes and audiotapes for the project. Their perseverance and perceptions helped immeasurably. Finally, I would like to thank the staff, students and parents of Aldertree whose identities must remain confidential but whose generous cooperation is deeply appreciated.

Julie Stulac

Atlanta, Georgia
February 22, 1979

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INTRODUCTION

Few situations are as dramatically self-revelatory as direct observation of one's own culture for purposes of ethnographic description. Descriptive accounts of events depend on the senses--primarily the eye and the ear--and, in the absence of controlling rules and instruments, on the personal configuration of interests, values and styles of the observer. The acts and events recorded by observers, then, are limited by one's range of hearing and/or seeing and to that which attracts one's attention. This is so because the number of events or even features of events potentially available for notation is infinite yet the observer's repertoire of concepts and interests is finite. As Honigmann (1976) notes, "Only those features relevant to the interests consciously or unconsciously active during observation will be noted, and many potentially useful features may well be missed," (p. 245). The personal equation, then, is readily evident in the catalog of events and their organization in the ethnographic record.

If the record of overt events is personally revealing, the inferences an ethnographer makes about covert states of actors is, perhaps, even more so. As creatures of a given cultural context, we become accustomed to experiencing chains of behavior that are deemed "appropriate." If a stimulus is emitted and the expected response is not forthcoming, one is tempted to infer that "nothing happened." In fact, what is noted is the non-occurence of an *expected* behavior. Similarly, the observer of one's own culture can conclude "nothing happened" when shared norms are not being violated. I recall especially the day an observer of my acquaintance returned greatly frustrated from three hours of observing an elementary classroom. He reported, "I was in Mrs. Brodick's room all morning

and *nothing happened.*" Realistically, of course, innumerable "things" happened; what probably didn't happen was anything unexpected, inappropriate, or illegal.

I mention the significance of the personal element in ethnographic research because it bears directly on my own experience with the school under consideration here. The original, if unstated, intention of this study was to examine the processes through which minority children in interaction with other children and with the adults of a multi-ethnic setting "achieve school failure," (McDermott: 1975). This intention is not meant to cast aspersions on teachers, administrators or schools in particular or in general; rather, it reflects a predisposition among those of us weaned on Coleman (1966) and innumerable others (including the author of the RFP cited above) who have consistently reported gross disparities between white and minority non-white student outcomes. There comes a point, I felt, when one more survey on this issue would be superfluous. It was time to begin to examine closely the processes by which the distinctions are realized. To this end, I selected a school defined by the district office as 50% white, 30% chicano and 18% black with the remaining 2% Asian and Arabic. This selection occurred during the summer prior to the beginning of the 1975-1976 school year; I had no previous knowledge of the school in any respect.

Using direct observation as the only mode of data collection the first month of school, it quickly became apparent that the "processes" leading to minority failure were not being captured. Unwilling to cast aside my assumptions about the prevalent state of affairs in multi-ethnic schools, I resorted--to the horror of some "purists"--to more "objective"

sources of data. Specifically, I began examining archival records of discipline referrals, honor roll members, allocation by ethnicity to intraclassroom ability groups, past records of achievement test scores, and so forth. This effort was supplemented by an examination of the sociometric structure of classrooms, photographs of children at play, lunch and work and structured interviewing with parents, children and the school staff. If the formally collected data converged with the more informal direct observational data, I reasoned, then it would be necessary to restructure the assumptions and, hence, the questions of the study.

The broad outlines of the early analyses of both the formally- and informally-collected data did, indeed, seem to merit a conceptual reorientation. The analyses that proved particularly persuasive were the results of the sociometric structure of classrooms, the relative achievement levels of dominant and minority students and interethnic character of the extracurricular activities present in the school. These data indicated that this particular multi-ethnic school did not harmonize with what one colleague termed, "reams of social science research." That is, ethnic identity proved a poor predictor of both participation and success in school activities.

This discovery presented us with a challenge both troubling and exciting. It was troubling because the burden of proof that traditionally lies heavy on those pursuing the more personal forms of research was greatly intensified and exciting in that--to our knowledge--no one had ever carefully examined an elementary school that deserved the label "integrated" as well as this one appeared to do. The discovery of

unanticipated consequences carries implications beyond restructuring conceptual stances and data collection procedures: it makes the task of analysis much more difficult and calls for particular care in reporting the study. In reading this report submitted one short year after the end of the data collection phase, then, we ask the reader's indulgence as he or she encounters weaknesses and invite constructive suggestions.

One final caveat is in order. The data collected over the two year period is both extensive and diverse. To completely report in one volume all that happened, not to mention analyses and interpretation, would tax even the most voracious reader or avid student of desegregated schools, not to mention the fingers of the typist or budget of the project. Necessarily, then, this report is limited both in scope and length. For example, detailed and extensive data were collected on 6 classrooms (2 kindergarten and 1 first, third, fifth and sixth grade). Yet, I have chosen to report here an analysis of only one of these, the first grade classroom. The others will be reported elsewhere.

The focal question of this study is: What processes characterize the social life of this particular interethnic school? In Part I the organizing concepts relevant to the study are discussed. Part II addresses the method and plan of the study. The school's structure in formal terms stemming from the researchers' frame of reference is discussed in Part III. Parts IV through VII are an attempt to communicate how the people of the school interpret and give meaning to this segment of their lives. Part VIII consists of my own reflections on the study and recommendations for further inquiry.

I

ORGANIZING CONCEPTS: SCHOOLING AND ETHNICITY

The aim of social science is the discovery and explanation of human behavior. The medium for this pursuit is the actual world that presents itself for observation. The topics examined, the questions posed, the evidence considered persuasive and the logical and commonsensical structures in which analyses are embedded are subject to a social scientist's disposition; to the assumptions upon which his existence is grounded. To be sure, there are guidelines for problem formulation, methods for procedure and techniques for data anlaysis designed to systematize scientific inquiry. Nevertheless, inquiry remains to an important extent embedded in the more or less immediate experience of the observer who is in turn embedded in society.

The observer's assumptions about the world are the 'givens' of his work in the same way that axioms are the 'givens' of theories. It is true that scientists should be less accepting of the merely given than the layperson; yet, there are limits to this exercise in any particular instance of inquiry. The recognition of where the given is separated from the not given is of ultimate importance.

Berger (1969) has observed that, "Every society is an enterprise of world-building." That is, society is a human product at once fashioned by and acting on humanity. The products of society, e.g., technology, language, values and so forth acquire a reality that, in turn, influences those who have produced them. The tension of being *in* the world while at the same time being obliged to *make* the world has been dealt with by many

scholars. Slater (1974) for example discusses this with respect to technology in contemporary society; Whorf (1969) examined the creation of language and the subsequent influence of grammar on a people's thinking processes. This condition of shaping and being shaped by the world results in an essential instability. Relationships among people and between people and their environment are not given; they are continuously established.

Henry (1972) echoes the notion of instability in his disucssion of vulnerability. From society's point of view, he argues, men must remain vulnerable:

> If a man is invulnerable society cannot reach him, and if society produces men who cannot be reached it cannot endure. Thus, society will protect us only if we consent to being relatively defenseless.

To this end, Henry continues, successful societies encourage vulnerability. Men are "brought to heel" by their desire to protect their reputations; to avoid failure.

The heart of these views is revealed in their recognition that a fragile balance exists between the individual and his social condition. If we take this relationship as given, then the major concepts of the social sciences, e.g., culture, race, role and so forth, cannot be seen to exist independently from the human endeavor that produces and maintains them. Concomitantly, they refute the belief that "Man is the master of his own fate." Man's world-building is a dialectic striving that is esentially precarious and the structures thereby produced are disposed to change.

This assumption poses a challenge to the doing of social science. If, as Homans has stated, the aim of science is the discovery and explanation of general relationships between properties of nature (1967) and we define social relations as essentially unstable, then what is the aim of social science? Wherein lie the "general relationships" in an ever-shifting world? The answer can be found, I believe, by focusing not on *what* social relations exist at a given time but *that* they exist or are being created. It is not in apparent instances of society that general relationships are discovered but in the examination of how those instances are formed.

To move to a more empirical level, this study is not designed to provide one more piece of evidence for a presumed general relationship between ethnic groups, teachers and students or schools and their communities. It is an attempt to describe a specific school and explain some of the processes influencing its particular configuration. I hasten to offer this caveat because ethnographic or case studies are often taken as archetypical of larger samples of schools, communities, families, or whatever. This is a problem of over generalization I wish to avoid. Some comparisons are possible at a conceptual level, however. Two concepts central to this study--schooling and ethnicity--contain formal properties against which a variety of interethnic educational settings may be examined. These will be discussed in the following pages.

Schooling

The School as an Organazation

All societies instruct their young in cultural survival. The qualitities considered adaptive to the society are defined and arrangements are made to develop these needs in children. Socialization toward adult status begins for most children in the family and, in complex modern societies is later shared by the schools. Although the aim of both the family and the school are broadly similar--to promote behaviors and instill principles appropriate to adulthood--the settings are quite different in many respects. Eisenstadt notes:

> The social structure and sphere of the school is obviously distinct from that of the family and necessarily involves a different way of organizing relations between the various generations. (1965:163)

Unlike the nuclear or extended family, schools are typically age-homogenous. That is, children are grouped with approximate age cohorts in distinct classroom units. Presumably, this arrangement serves to group children with similar psychological and physiological learning potential to more efficiently transmit or develop necessary skills. This arrangement results in an internal differentiation unavailable in the family unit.

Another distinction, according to Eisenstadt, centers on the relationship of adults to children. The school, he argues, exaggerates the basic discontinuity between generations. The student role is not considered an end in itself but, rather signifies a period of preparation for adult status that is invested in the teachers and staff of the school.

The usual adult-child discontinuity is deepened by the fact that students are, by definition, precluded from ever taking on the status of full membership in the school community.

The school is thrust in the odd situation of both serving as the child's first major universalistic orientation and, at the same time, reinforcing the notion of children *qua* children to an even greater extent than is evident in the family. What is the nature of its relationshop to the larger society?

Sutdents of organizational theory have always had a particularly sticky time trying to conceptualize the relationship of schools to the wider environment. Judged in terms of the uncertain effectiveness and lack of control of its technical core (teaching and learning activities) and its inability to buffer itself from threats of the environment (the public) it would seem to be a very unstable organization indeed. Yet, cast against the failure rate of small businesses, the schools are surprisingly durable. Quite clearly, organizational models appropriate for factories are not readily applicable to schools.

Meyer (1977) argues that schools are, indeed, different from most organizational structures and the difference is rooted in the distinctiveness of its primary source of legitimacy. Where a product for market exchange is the goal, an organization must develop and control an efficient technology and protect that technology from the vagaries of the environment such as shortages of raw materials or whimsical political mandates. Schools, on the other hand, emerge from and derive their legitimacy from the environment--not the quality or efficiency of its technical core--and thus survival is largely dependent on how successfully

their structures articulate with those of the environment. In harsh terms, this means that schools must concentrate first on conforming to their environments and only secondarily consider pedogogy; to survive a school must *look* like a school, not necessarily effectively instruct children. The work that must be carried out for a school to conform to environmental expectations is quite likely inconsistent with a highly developed technical core. An insititution cannot remain sensitive to environmental demands on the one hand while inwardly developing a uniform, sophisticated, environment-proof technical core on the other.

The vulnerability of the school structure to the environment is a key to examining the moment-to-moment negotiations of a school's staff, I believe. It suggests that much of the work of the school (particularly "successful" ones) is devoted to appropriately fulfilling environmental expectations.

One of the more persistent questions addressed by educational research centers on whether a school as a whole has any effects upon academic performance independent of students' personal and social status backgrounds. Coleman (1966) and Jencks (1972) argue that schools exert little, if any, influence noting that within school variance approaches the degree of observable between school variance. Wilson (1959) and McDill, *et. al.* (1967) have presented support for the thesis that school effects can and do transcend student background characteristics. Without encumbering the reader with a restatement of these familiar arguments, I should like to suggest that it is possible that both parties may have valid points.

At one level, schools do tend to be similar to one another. If

their legitimacy is largely derived from their success at integrating their own structural arrangements with the larger society's understandings of what schools should be, then we cannot be surprised that, in many respects, they are alike. As Philip Jackson put it, "School is school," (1968). Meyer points out that similarities reside in at least four important areas:

1. *Structural conformity:* schools seek accrediation, hire credentialled teachers, allocate carefully defined sets of students to teachers who are charged with implementing a curriculum. Management is carried out by principals and superintendents whose roles are institutionally defined. Schools that deviate substantially from these arrangements (such as experimental schools, for example) become highly vulnerable and threaten their prospects for survival.

2. *Formal organizational responsiveness:* schools seek out links with the environment to retain high levels of support. This is manifested in their relatively high rate of adoption (and disposal) of innovations currently in vogue. Concerted attentiveness of a technical core is inconsistent with this behavior.

3. *Client and member satisfaction:* in line with the observation that "a school is a school," Meyer notes that, "a school is a school if everyone is satisfied that it is a school," (1977:10). Schools, thus, must satisfy two constituencies: members of the larger environment and their own members. Studies by Dornbusch and others report that schools often succeed in maintaining

support even smong students who "are processed into failure by them," (1977:12).

4. *Member consensus across schools and districts:* the understandings members share with respect to role definitions, issues of organizational policy and the nature of the schooling system are highly consistent. This could only emerge, Meyer insists, from a general sensitivity to the general educational culture.

These four organizational features of schools contribute to restricting variability among schools in the United States. They suggest as well, however, that there might be considerable variation among schools at another level. That is, if schools are obliged to be sensitive to environmental constraints, then much of the day-to-day work must be mediated at the individual school level.

The School as an Agent of Socialization

Social organizations are composed of individuals. We assume that individuals are not born members of society; they are predisposed toward becoming members of society. The process of becoming social is called *socialization* and occurs within primary and secondary milieux. *Primary socialization* usually takes place within the family. The emotional, physical and cognitive identities formed there are continuous and persistent providing a reference point against which subsequent socializing efforts are evaluated or mediated. *Secondary socialization* occurs in many spheres of which the school is one. The aim of secondary socialization is the acquisition of role-specific knowledge. Teachers and students, foremen and assembly line workers, officers and enlisted men are all

engage in role-specific behavior. Agents of socialization in these spheres presuppose the existence of already-formed selves, i.e., that the individuals have experienced primary socialization. The effectiveness of secondary socialization is dependent on the degree to which agents can "bring home" the knowledge required to assume appropriate roles, (Berger and Luckmann, 1967).

The persistence of individuals' already formed selves or internal realities shaped by primary socialization can be viewed as a barrier to the acquisition of role-specific behavior. Teachers, for example, must expend extra-ordinary effort in the early years convincing children they belong to the category "pupil" when, heretofore, they have been perceived and treated as relatively unique human beings. Children who insist on maintaining their uniqueness are liable to be perceived "immature" or educationally handicapped from the point of view of the school.

To accomplish their goals teachers use pedagogical techniques to overcome the persistence of children's already formed selves. By presenting ideas vividly, in an interesting manner and a variety of modes, they can induce knowledge acquisition. The precise combination of pedagogical techniques needed to succeed will depend on the motivations of the children.

The object of socialization--whether primary or secondary--is to establish and reinforce social constructions of reality consistent with a conception of culture shared by geographically proximate others. To socialize children in a school several factors come into play. The initial contact of a child with the school is a stranger. The school has an identity and a history; it existed before he was born and will

endure after he leaves. The child, however, enters school without an institutional history. He confronts pressure to give up being treated in a "whole" way typical of family or small group relationships. Activities usually occur in a single large room with many more associates than has formerly been the case. Symbols and signs replace direct verbal addresses as cues for behavior. Idiosyncratic physical and psychic needs must be subordinated to the group. His ideas, postures, movements and motivations are continually assessed.

The clarity and staging of his introduction to the environment are critical to the success of his adaptation from both his own and his teacher's perspective. The valence and strength of his institutional identity are dependent on his ability to interpret messages and the content of the messages themselves and on the sensitivity of teachers who build the necessary bridges. The social structure of the classroom (and one's position in it) is created by the student, his or her peers and the teacher.

Some may be uncomfortable with the notion that socialization is the primary goal of schooling. We have not identified items such as "cognitive growth," "development of self concept," or other aims stated by educational philosophers and practitioners. This is because these goals are not necessarily, in fact, pursued by all teachers for all children. All school children, however, experience socialization toward *some* end.

Ethnicity

Ethnic variation is a significant component of life in most complex societies. Although the basis for ethnic division may differ, few

societies--if any--are free from the effects of this idea. Interest in the relationship of ethnic diversity to social, political and economic developments is not new; it has, however, regained prominence as a result of the civil rights movement in the United States and elsewhere.

What is an ethnic group? Yinger (1975) suggests it:

> ... is a segment of a larger society whose members are thought, by themselves and/or others, to have a common origin and to share important segments of a common culture and who, in addition, participate in shared activities in which the common origin and culture are significant ingredients, (1975:5).

Ethnic group identity, then, has three elements: 1) recognition by others of ethnicity, 2) recognition of self as ethnic, and 3) participation in shared activities with others similarly designated. Ethnic distinction as perceived by others applies to those whose physical, cultural or linguistic traits are readily apparent to members of the society at large. In the United States, people of color including Blacks and Asian-Americans are physically as well as culturally distinctive ethnic groups. By and large, these peoples are always perceived as ethnic. Certain religious or regional groups including the Amish, people of the Ozark hills and other regional groups are not necessarily physically but often culturally distinctive. Linguistic identification pertains to Americans who are non-English speaking or for whom English is a second language. There are peoples who claim ethnic distinctiveness who may not be so identified by others. The emergence of the so-called "white ethnics" documented by Novak (1971) are included here. Poles, Slovaks, Greeks and southern Europeans in general often claim ethnic identity along with the Irish, Scottish or Nordic peoples. Any group claiming ethnic distinction will

own ways of doing things (celebrating, speaking, worshiping) that are built on an idea of their common origin. Self or other-identified ethnic group members may or may not participate in these activities. Furthermore, persons who do not identify themselves as ethnic nor are so perceived by others, may participate in shared activities with an ethnic group. converts to Judaism and Anglo volunteers in minority civil rights movements may be included in this category.

The conditions under which ethnic identity is activated and the consequences of emphasizing ethnicity are crucial components to the concept. To be salient in a social setting, ethnicity--one's sense of "peoplehood"--must be activated. Under what conditions does this happen? Yinger has identified three distinct--although not mutually exclusive--circumstances:

- to promote or protect political, social or economic status;
- to perpetuate fundamental cultural traditions such as language and religion;
- to combat alienation or anomie in strongly undifferentiated, anonymous societies.

In the United States we have witnessed numerous movements using ethnicity as a motivation for social action. Native American, black, and Hispanic peoples (e.g., Cubans, chicanos and Puerto Ricans) have each sought to ameliorate their social, political and economic status by emphasizing the relationship of their inescapable ethnic identity with lowered social status. A primary aim of these movements is to alter the assumptions upon which the larger social structure is fashioned. They wish to discard their "pariah" or outcast status in a nation that formally recognizes the equality of all persons. Another important

motivation for emphasizing ethnic identity is the perpetuation of cultural and linguistic traditions. This is manifested when groups promote bilingual or parochial education. The third source of ethnic emphasis is attributed to high levels of alienation and anomie. Anomie--a condition arising from a disjunction of cultural and social structures--is a state of normlessness. It occurs where there are restricted means of attaining culturally valued goals. People in malintegrated or anomic societies may experience allienation...and allienation assults one's identity. One way to combat alienation is to renew (or even create) an ethnic identy. By so doing, one can say with conviction, "I am a Slovak," "a Celt," a "black" and therefore, I have a people, standards, worth. Novak (1971) explains the extensive adoption of ethnic identity by American whites of European ancestry in these terms. Possibly, the persistence of ethnic identity in Russia is similarly motivated. The Russian ideology stresses an undifferentiated citizenry; ethnic identity reaffirms a "belongingness" the official ideology does not permit.

To explain the persistence of ethnic identity in complex societies three sources have been offered: the pursuit of interests, the maintenance of cultural traditions and the reversal of high levels of anomie and alienation. While not a theory, this conceptual framework offers a useful means of examining the effects of ethnic identity within a social setting.

On the Intersection of Schooling and Ethnicity

Schools have historically served as wellsprings for activating ethnic identies. They have and continue to be rallying points for the redress of political, social and economic disparities; they have been

cited for perpetuating an ethnocentric cultural view at the expense of valid alternatives to majority cultural claims; and, they have been accused of consistently if not always consciously alienating minority group members. The literature is replete with evidence of inequity in both educational opportunities afforded certain minority groups and in the receipt of educaticnal benefits. (See Weinberg:1977 for a complete appraisal of this literature). Coleman's (1966) comprehensive survey of 625,000 school children in grades, 1, 3, 6, 9, and 12 merely crystalized a reality foretold in many more modest assessments: that--with the exception of Asian Americans--minority children including blacks, Native Americans, Puerto Ricans and chicanos, lagged a considerable distance behind Euro-American or white children in academic achievement, plans to attend college and sense of control over the environment.

Considered in light of Meyer's insightful conception of the school as an organization and the socialization function of the school, disparities between majority and minority students can be conceptualized. Meyer argued that schools pursue structural conformity, are responsive to the environment, seek client satisfactions, and attain role consensus across schools and districts. Crucial to the interests of minority groups is the question of *who* is considered the "environment" and the "client." If whites are the salient environment, i.e., the source of influence on or legitimators of schools, and if they are considered the clients even though minority students predominate, then the needs of minorities are unlikely to be met. Alternatively, if minority perspectives are considered relevant, we would expect the satisfaction of their goals. The latter situation is a much more infrequent occurence than the former.

The crucible of interethnic relations is the classroom and the larger school where secondary socialization occurs. The signposts and boundaries of concepts such as "pupil," "competence," "ability," and so forth are largely defined by the adults in the school. The latitude they tolerate, the eveness in treatment they exhibit and the congruence of cultural expressions between home and school influence the chances of all students. A number of socially constructed variables have come to be associated with students' educational success. Ethnicity, gender, IQ and socioeconomic status are a few. The relationships between socially valued levels of these variables and achievement are so numerous and consistent that it is sometimes easy to forget that they are not inherently or intrinisically related. In other words, one does not *cause* the other. Relationships are *produced* by the actors themselves. Evidence that the direction of the familiar relationship of, for example, ethnicity and achievement can be reversed is available in the work of Cohen and her colleagues (1978).

I should like to emphasize again that schools and their constituencies are essentially dynamic. The configuration of a particular school is produced by a specific articulation of the school's collective conceptions about its salient environment and clients, its beliefs and actions regarding socialization and the nature of the fit between the home and school cultures.

For this study, then, pupils will be examined in two ways. First, we will investigate the distribution of students--by ethnicity--across several educational and structural dimensions. That is, we will attempt to ascertain what the "game" is and who are the "winners." Second, we

will examine the construction of school relevant identies in a selected classroom. In addition, we will examine the beliefs of teachers, parents and other adults in the school. The results of the first examination will reveal whether benefits of schooling accrue differentially to students of different ethnic groups; the second focus will shed light on how benefits are (or are not) realized.

II

THE PLAN AND METHOD OF THE STUDY

Site Selection

The request for proposals (NIE-R-75-0023) issued by the National Institute of Education specified sites located in urban settings, i.e., cities with populations in excess of 100,000 people or school districts with pupil populations in excess of 25,000. Although the Bay Area consists of dozens of contiguous cities with a combined population of 9 million, only six of these cities exceed the 100,000 specification set forth in the guidelines: Berkeley, Freemont, Oakland, San Francisco, San Jose and Sunnyvale. Berkeley, San Francisco and Oaklsnd were ruled out as possible settings because of political upheavel at the time. Sunnyvale and Freemont were ruled out because of the disproportionately large white population present in each. That left San Jose, a city with approximately 600,000 residents.

Two additional criteria specified that the school be public and "interracial." We hoped to locate a school with a student and teacher population that closely reflected the ethnic group proportions of the larger metropolis. Ideally, the school would serve four major ethnic groups: white, Hispanic, black, and Asian in descending numerical strength.

We began by contacting the Santa Clara County Superintendent of Schools, Dr. Glenn Hoffman. Santa Clara County, he explained, consists of 22 school districts ranging in size from 1 school to 42 schools. Most are organized to include elementary and junior high schools

separately from high schools. Thus, as students progress from 9th to 10th grade, they enter a different school district. One district--San Jose Unified--serves studens from kindergarten through junior college (K-14). Only two districts (San Jose Uinfied and Cupertino Elementary) serve student populations of 25,000 or more. The average number of schools in a district is 10 and the average school size is 533. School district boundaries bear little relation to present political boundaries as they reflect residential patterns of an earlier farm and ranch based economy. Thus, the Cupertino Elementary School District, for example, draws students from seven different cities and does not include all elementary students of any single city. Each district is led by a district superintendent who is appointed and an elected school board.

Since neither San Jose Unified or Cupertino Elementary districts (the two servicing student populations in excess of 25,000) reflected a balanced ethnic distribution, we sought a school within the city limits of San Jose that, necessarily would be part of a rather small school district. Dr. Hoffman graciously permitted us to review the county's data on ethnic distributions by school. From this information we selected three districts containing schools with substantial proportions of three ethnic groups: Caucasion, Spanish-surnamed and Black (the designations used by the U. S. census).

Next, we contacted the district superintendents, obtained their cooperation and then spoke with principals of three elementary schools. At the time the proposal was submitted, all three had expressed an interest in and desire to participate. When the contracts were awarded we had to select one. Of the three we selected Aldertree (a pseudonym)

for both logical and intuitive reasons. The two most enthusiastic candidates--Aldertree and Plumwood--both had ethnic proportions reflecting the proportion of the larger Bay Area with the exception of Asians who were underrepresented; yet, Plumwood was engaged in an innovative scheduling arrangement whereby students attended school year round. In addition, Plumwood's architecture is unique in that traditional classrooms do not exist. Although the pod arrangement of Aldertree is feasible only in mild climes, it did contain separate classrooms typical of most American elementary schools.

The final step in site selection involved obtaining approval from the elected school board. I attended the August, 1975 school board meeting, presented the aims of the research and obtained unanimous approval from the ethnically diverse school board.

The Research Team

Personnel

Six persons served as field workers at various stages of the study. The principal investigator, Julie Stulac, was present throughout the 2 1/2 years of the study on a half-time basis. Two researchers, Louise Webb and Sam Bell, participated on a one-quarter time level during the first year; a third researcher, Carol Gilberts participated on a half-time basis during the second year. Two graduate students assisted intermittently: Vicke Li of Stanford and Anne Shanger of California State University at San Francisco. Three white females (2 American; 1 Swede) one black and one Asian female and one white male constituted the research team.

Training

All but one member of the research team (Vicki Li) had experience

as classroom teachers and all (including Vicki Li) had experience observing educational settings. To prepare for field work at Aldertree, however, the entire team underwent special training. Armed with steno pads and sharpened pencils, pairs selected a cultural scene (a bar, the candy section of 2 grocery markets, the waiting room of 2 doctor's office), chose a focus (ordering drinks, parent child interaction, waiting behavior) and recorded their observations. Each observation lasted approximately 20 minutes. The field notes for an observation included the following identifying information: name of observer, number of the observation, place, date, focus, time observation began and ended, a map of the physical setting, and number of participants. Comparisons of paired observations revealed the variety of perspectives available in even restricted settings. Observers became skillful at recording movements, postures, verbal and non-verbal commuincation attempts, personal physical descriptions and "complete" interactional events.

Three grammatical devices emerged for our use: verbation accounts were enclosed in quotation marks (" "), references to earlier notes or explanations were enclosed by parentheses (()), and inferential remarks were set apart by brackets ([]). Quotation marks were used only when the observer was able to record each spoken word; to do so each developed an idiosyncratic shorthand technique. Parenthetical statements usually served to relate a present act with a similar one occurring earlier to assist the analysts in discovering patterns. The use of brackets helped increase the specificity of straight forward descriptions and highlight--set apart--the "I think," "he seems," and other such statements. This, if the observer perceived "anger" then that perception would be bracketed.

Behavior that led to the inference of anger would not be bracketed: folded arms, raised voice, flushed face and wrinkled forehead muscles.

Once the observation ended, the fieldworker transcribed his or her field notes onto an audiotape and delivered the tape and accompanying drawings to the project secretary (David Graves the first year, Michael Yearout the second). The project secretary typed the notes on prepared forms. Fieldnotes were duplicated and stored by observer and by type of observation.

The project team would meet once each month (sometimes more often) to critique one another's fieldnotes and discuss foci for ensuing observations. The critiques served to provide some control on the quality of the fieldnotes. Two criteria of particular importance throughout the data collection phase included specificity and completeness. By specificity we mean: has the observer provided descriptions sufficiently detailed to recapture not only *what* happened but how, when and where it happened? Thus, the statement "The teacher chastized the class," would be criticized as vague in the extreme. This is an inferential (although, admittedly, possibly low level) statement. To conclude the teacher is chastizing, the observer must have perceived a class of both verbal and non-verbal acts emitted by the teacher and a set of reactions by "the class" that, together, form the construct "chastizement." From this vague statement we do not know how the teacher came to chastize, what postures, proxemics, words, etc. she or he used to mark the attitude and communicate it to the class. Neither do we know who "the class" is or if each student is being equally chastized.

By "completeness" we mean that the fieldnotes recorded--as a

minimum--both the stimulus and response of an encounter. Thus, if a teacher is chastizing the class, we would want to have a record of how the class--or more likely some member or members--responded to the chastizement. There are several ways of segmenting interactional streams of behavior. For purposes of this study, we used Burnett's definition of a classroom event:

> An event begins with the entry into a specific place by a person or sets of persons and their engagement there in actions, including interactions. The event ends when the person, or at least one complete set of the various sets of persons engaged in behavior, changes his place, either by departing from that place, or by manipulating the place-defining objects so that the location is transformed from one place type to another. (1976:290)

The Ethnographis Approach

The ethnographer is committed to *participation* in the day-to-day experiences of those who are the subjects of study. Participation may take a variety of forms and degrees of intensity but any ethnographer must adhere to at least three principles. (Denzin 1978) First, she shares in the life and activities of the subjects. For some this means "moving in" with a tribe or residential collectivity for an extended period of time; for others it may consist of joining subjects as they participate in certain kinds of activities such as attending school, drinking at bars, performing on the job and the like. Second, ethnographers participate in the subjects' symbolic world. To do so, ethnographers familiarize themselves with linguistic and behavioral rules and patterns enabling them to appropriately maneuver in the setting. This does not mean the ethnographer uncritically adopts the perspective of those under study but, rather, becomes competent in the usage of symbols manifested by the group. A closely related third

feature of ethnography entails role-taking in the subjects' interactional world. That is, throughout the field experience, ethnographers attempt to define a role for themselves that maintains the integrity of their intent--to document a cultural milieu--yet is sufficiently integrated with the ongoing life of the subjects that meaningful participation of their symbolic world is possible. This is a position somewhere between the objective detachment of statistical quantifiers who are uninterested in discovering internally derived meanings and interpretations and those who would "go native" losing sight of scientific conceptions by passionately defending the subject's perspective.

For the present study, two strategies with different underlying assumptions and data collection techniques are used. Here I am referring to the twin goals of examining the school in terms of its formal properties and those that are functionally relevant to the participants.

The "formal properties" of a setting are those clusters of categories imposed *a priori* by the investigators. For example, the conceptual scheme of this study directs attention to elements of the social structure, the process of socialization and ethnic identity. These concepts are borrowed from the work of previous researchers and are used to assist the present researchers in making sense of the setting. That our research site *has* a social structure, *engages* in socialization and is *cognizant* of ethnic variation is assumed. The data produced with this approach will yield a particular configuration of these categories that may be compared to other elementary school settings.

This approach relies on standardized modes of eliciting information and standardized procedures for analyzing and interpreting data.

Although sometimes referred to as "objective," this approach is not value-free; for in choosing to use a specific theory or feature of the environment to measure in the first place, the researcher reveals a belief that the theory is valuable or the feature is worth measuring. The use of standardized procedures is valuable because it allows one to present data in ways shared by colleagues. Consequently, research reported in these terms is available for replication and elaboration.

In contrast to the formal approach that circumscribes inquiry *a priori* and considers phenomena from the point of view of the researcher, the second approach considers the setting from the point of view of the actors (or a selected sample of actors). Since the actors are unknown prior to entry, these data emerge *during* the process of data collection. Though directly observing actors use of space, time and physical presence, the tone of voice, and so forth the "game" and how it is played is revealed.

By using two combinations of approaches and data collection techniques we are able to examine the same phenomena, e.g., social and achievement aggregates, from different perspectives. Certain techniques emphasize the stable features of environments, other highlight the flow of change. Some rely on the observer or researcher's construction of reality, others permit the participants interpretation to emergy. As Derrzin points out, methods of approaching empirical phenomena are not "atheoretical tools" suitable for any user and any purpose. Each reveals a portion of reality and the selection of any one or any combination will lead inevitably to certain interpretations and rule out others.

Our purpose in using multiple strategies is directed toward reducing (although certainly not eliminating) the personal bias inherent in

individual researchers employing a single method. Personal bias is a charge frequently leveled by experimental researchers toward those who work "in the field." It is a convenient pejoritive that covers a multitude of sins in the eyes of the accusers--some of which are warranted, others are not. By triangulating strategies one does nor remove the threat of taking a stance for, as we have argued, all choices of strategy result in the assumption of a stance toward the phenomena and imply certain interpretations. Triangulation does strengthen research in two respects. First, it yields a richer descirption of phenomena than would be otherwise available. Not just one but several aspects of reality are available to the researcher. Second, triangulation permits greater confidence that certain patterns exist. If two or more strategies produce convergent results, sounder conclusions may be made.

There are four basic kinds of triangulation. *Data triangulation* involves the use of several data sources (time, space, person) bearing on the same phenomenon. For our examination of social friendship groups, for example, we triangulated data from the field notes with the results of the sociometric survey. *Investigator triangulation* refers to the use of multiple observers subjected to the same stimuli. The strictest interpretation of this procedure would entail two or more observers viewing a videotape of an event or series of events. Only then could one be sure the observers were viewing the same stimuli from the same physical vantage point and is a good way of assessing observer agreement. Two observers in an ongoing setting can never achieve this similarity of viewpoint. A few inches difference in physical stance effects a very different aural and visual field. Thus, this study does employ multiple observers of the same setting but not from the exact same perspectives. The

reliability of observations was checked by periodically ensuring the careful separation of descriptive and infercutial data and corroboration of patterns by other observers as those patterns emerged. *Theoretical triangulation* is a third kind of triangulation not attempted in this study. Finally, there may be *triangulation of method.* Methodological triangulation involves the use of multiple ways of measuring the same phenomenon. The flaws of one method may be counterbalanced by the strengths of another. In this study surveys, interviews, field notes, and archival data are triangulated at several points. These strategies are discussed briefly below.

Data Collection Techniques

The discovery of externally measurable properties of a socio-cultural system and the functionally relevant properties therein is a complex goal. It is a process of coming to know ..and this is done by perceiving facts to be interpreted through conceptual structures available to the observers recording the facts. Since we sought to describe the setting by articulating both the "outside" and "inside" points of view, a variety of techniques were employed. Several techniques rely on standardized forms of data collection, others do not. Each will be presented here.

Direct Observation

The basic strategy of this study was direct observation of ongoing events. Descriptive accounts of events depend on the senses--primarily the eye and ear--and, in the absence of controlling rules and instruments, on the personal configuration of interests, values and styles of the observer. The acts and events recorded by observers, then, are limited

by their range of hearing and/or seeing and to that which attracts the mind's eye. This is so because the number of features potentially available for notation is infinite yet the observer's repertoire of concepts and interests is finite.

Even though personal differences strongly influence selection of events or features of events to record, convergence of descriptions is possible. By holding constant situational elements such as time, space, order, actor, activity or event transitions in physically different but structurally similar settings (such as classrooms) comparisons can be made. Another point of convergence rests in panhumanic knowledge. Pain, anger, joy and satisfaction, for example, are shared states of all persons even though they may be expressed quite differently by members of differing cultures. Finally, convergence is enhanced through ongoing examinations of field reports by observers. As questions about aspects of events omitted in another's descriptions are repeated or he or whe can begin to attend to those aspects.

Informal Interviews

Direct observatinon yields data from the "outsider's" perspective and is thus, limited to overt verbal and non-verbal interactions about which high level inferences would be necessary to construct a description of the setting. To reduce the necessary inferential power of field note data and to tap into how participants interpret experience, direct observer-observed interaction is helpful. But what does one ask of informants?

To discover what people know, the ways in which they organize

experience, one seeks to elicit understandings by using the words participants use and to recall sequences of behaviors for elaboration. The most effective stance is that of naivete; to keep connecting inferences in check.

For example, in reviewing our field notes, we discovered many references by teachers to "readiness." As former teachers, my colleague and I had not only encountered this word before but had used it regularly in describing students. While reviewing our notes, it occurred to us that this much-used concept was present over all grade levels (K - 6) and was used by most of the teachers. We wondered what it meant to each and if differences in meaning varied depending on the age of the students to which they applied it. To find the answers, we interviewed teachers informally.

Field notes are but one source for discovering functionally relevant categoreis. In a school setting, there are many opportunities for observing cultural categories of participants. Students on the playground, teachers in the faculty lounge, the custodian, secretary, nurse, librarian and special consultants and principal wherever they may be. McCurdy (1975) describes three kinds of questions useful for eliciting cultural categories: tour, structural and attributions. *Tour* questions are designed to encourage participants to talk about their environment in a general manner. By recording the words used, one can extend the inquiry to more detailed information. A tour question may be very simple. For example, by asking an obviously over busy school secretary on her break, "How are you?" one can elicit an extraordinarily varied account of the life of a secretary. In one such exchange, I learned that she was assisting in the development

of next year's teacher-student assignments. This led to the next kind of inquiry: structural questions. *Structural* questions elicit and verify members of taxonomies or clusters of categories. By asking, "On what bases are students assigned to teachers?" several categories emerged: race, sex, age, "ability," "How well the students will get along with the teacher," and balance in numbers assigned to teachers across grade level. The knowledge of these categories leads to the third kind of questions. *Attributional* questions are designed to discover meanings of categories. The school secretary mentioned the consideration of "ability" in assigning students; I asked, "How do you know what a student's ability is?" She replied,"We use 'ability assessment' forms the teachers have filled out. Every year at this time they fill out... just a minute...[she leaves to get a sample]...they fill out this form. Students are rated from A [highest] to D [lowest] in two areas, how bright they are and how well they do their school work." For further clarification, I then asked teachers to describe the attributes they consider important to these two categories.

Thus far, two strategies--direct observation and the informal interview--and their relationship have been presented. To support these relatively unstructured or flexible data collection techniques, other, more standardized procedures are employed.

Archival records. Archival records are revealing in at least two respects. The kind of information deemed important enough to formally record gives clues as to elements of the social structure: the goals, ways of doing things, expectations and demographic characteristics of the participants. These clues can then be used to pursue and verify

research questions. By using student information cards along with teacher assessments of ethnicity and tract maps of the district, for example, we were able to identify where students lived in the neighborhood. Although informants reported to us that the area is ethnically integrated with respect to housing, this effort confirmed it.

Photographs and audio recordings. Human groups are complex and dynamic. Field notes produced through directly observing settings are limited first by what observers decide is interesting enough to record and secondly by how quickly they can record the events observed. When spatial use and verbatim accounts of participants are desired, photographs and audio recordings permit a more accurate record than field notes.

Photographs are particularly helpful in capturing spatial use. Who relates to whom and where on the playground, for instance, can be partially reconstructed through a series of photographs that "freeze" the actions of a given event. Over time, the territories and memberships of various sub-groups can be identified. From this information, questions and observations may be focused to produce a fuller account of the photographed behavior.

Audio recordings also help preserve objective events. Field notes cannot faithfully record voice tone nor exact sequences and linguistic patterns of speaking. Trained observers do, of course, indicate voice levels, infer emotional content, note the passage of time and record "noise" levels: however, these are difficult to recapture without the assistance of taped reproductions. Audio recordings are especially useful, then, in situations where interviews are taking place or where long quickly paced speeches occur.

Sociometric measures. Sociograms depict affective partitions within groups. The procedures for making sociograms are standardized; they require 1) reference to a bounded social group, 2) that members partition the entire group into categories, 3) on the basis of some attribute. In some cases, each member is categorized by a respondent while in others a selection of three or so from the group is made with the remainder, by implication, excluded. .

During the first year of this study, we asked students to select three classmates with whom they played most often, three with whom they would like to play *more* often, three whom they considered talented and three whom they considered good students. By subjecting these data to latent partition analysis, friendship groups based on the first question were constructed. Each group could then be analyzed in terms of ethnic balance, perceived academic competence,and perceived talent. In addition, correlations between ethnicity and perceived competence could be determined.

The second year, a slightly different procedure was followed. Classrooms were periodically sampled to determine the strength and persistence of friendship groups over time. Instead of selecting three members, each student classified all other classmates according to "who plays with whom?" Each student was given a set of index cards bearing the names of his or her classmates. The student partitioned his classmates into groups ranging from I to N according to how he or she perveives students relate. This strategy requires each subject to consider each classmate individually thus improving on the restricted "yes" or "no" decision first employed. The disadvantage of this procedure is that only the older students (fifth and sixth grades) are conceptually able to do the task.

Formal interviews. The final data collection strategy involved relatively standardized, formal interviews. By asking several role incumbants the same questions, we can determine similarities and differences in perspectives among people. By asking all teachers to describe randomly selected students, for example, we can determine whether a particular descriptive mode is related to grade level taught. In fact, we discovered a greater use of home background and affective descriptors among lower grade teachers than among upper grade teachers who relied primarily on intellectual descriptors.

While direct observation is the primary data collection procedure, other techniques are employed to support it. In some cases, standardized procedures can quickly assess skeletons of structures to guide further inquiry, in others they can provide secondary support or disconfirmation of phenomena recorded in field notes. The decision to include a particular strategy resides in its potential to further the inquiry in a fruitful and parsimonious manner.

Data Analysis

A variety of data collection techniques demand a number of analysis techniques. Three kinds of data--the sociometric measure achievement data and the records of informal grouping patterns--have been subjected to qualitative statistical tests. These are described later in the text. The bulk of the data are in the form of typed fieldnotes or transcribed interviews. The fieldnotes are labeled according to: a) the number of the observation, b) the name of the observer, c) the date and, d) the focus of the observation (a person, group, place, etc.). The notes are typed, using single spacing, on the left two-thirds of the page with 50

lines to the standard 8 1/2" by 11" page. Two copies of each page exist. The interviews are verbatun transcriptions of audiotapes. Here, a different format was used. As for the fieldnotes, each interview carried the aforementioned identifying information. The interviewer's questions and remarks are typed approximately 2 inches from the left-hand margin to distinguish them from the respondant's remarks that are indented 3 inches. For both the fieldnotes and the interviews, then, there is space on the left-hand side of the page for the analyst's coding and commentary.

Since the interviews were structured according to a specific logic (purpose, sentiments, attitudes toward multi-ethnic settings, etc.) the coding thereof was relatively (but not perfectly) straightforward. Having coded the statements, they were analysed to uncover points of similarity and difference among respondants on the various issues raised. These data are presented in section IV.

The coding and analysis of the observational fieldnotes presents a more complex problem. As with the interviews the codes and commentary appear in the left side of the page. We did not, however, have a prescribed or predetermined set of catagories available. To the extent the limited time and personnel available to the project permitted, coding and commentary occured throughout the project. [During the second year, we made our typed fieldnotes available to our focal teachers so that they could elaborate as they desired on the observations. We found the teachers' remarks rich and helpful but were unable to continue beyond two months as it proved excessively time-consuming for the teachers.] The bulk of the coding and analysis occurred, however, at the close of

the project.

The coded fieldnotes were organized along several dimensions depending on our purpose: by place (classroom, playground, teacher's lounge), by grade of student, by role (teacher, student, support personnel) and issue (interethnic contact, selection and allocation of students, etc.). Such continuous coding and analysis as we were able to manage served not only to "reduce" the data throughout the project but, more importantly helped focus and reform our observations.

As a final note, I should like to acknowledge the role of collaborative analysis of qualitative data. Since there are many "truths" present in any account of people interacting with other people, it is useful to subject interpretations to examination by more than one source. This does not mean that *the* truth (if, indeed, such exists) will emerge but does provide a hedge against presenting illogical and lax conclusions. One ethographic study does not a definitive statement make; at best it should become a part of a larger and onging attempt to capture and better understand the infinite variety of the human experience.

III

THE SETTING: ALDERTREE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

Introduction

On the periphery of San Jose, California there is a settlement of homes encompassing an elementary school called 'Aldertree." In many respects this settlement is unremarkable. The observant passerby is struck by its resemblance to so many other recently developed housing areas in the Bay Area: two-to-four bedroom ranch style houses located on carefully measured rectangular lots with small tidy yards and the immature greenery of recently razed acreage. Although located within a city of a half million residents and a nine county metropolitan area in excess of three million residents, one does not have the same sense of "urbaness" as one does in the larger midwestern or eastern cities. Automobiles glide by on extensive networks of freeways that do not intrude upon the residential areas; the clatter of mass rapid transit is absent; the skyline is less obstructed by high rise buildings than by nature's foothills. The presence of man is experienced most sharply through one's sense of smell: the invisible and silent smog. Aldertree sits at the foot of an inland range of hills that effectively captures the discharge of California's car cult and the effusion of the extensive light industry in the area. Smog alerts are issued first and most frequently here.

Despite its technically urban setting, Aldertree more closely resembles a small town when we arrived in 1975. Exiting from the freeway toward Aldertree, one passes a half-mile stretch of fast food chain restaurants, 24 hour 'quick shops' and service stations and automobile

parts suppliers. Turning right, one swings around a large shopping mall and crosses a major thruway. Continuing toward the hills, the environment turns residential-rural. There are a few elderly bars of the *Come On Inn* variety incongruously juxtaposed with less-than-ten-year-old homes. and churches of the Fundamentalist persuasion--Church of God, Assembly of God and Southern Baptist. Remnants of this once verdant valley are also visible: small orchards of apricot and cherry, pastures where a handful of horses graze and vineyards. Aldertree is bounded by pasture land on two sides, the hills on a third and a large arterial highway on the fourth. A moratorium on new construction has resulted in a degree of isolation for Aldertree's residents.

The people of Aldertree represent every region in the United States. Most have migrated from the country's large cities or farmlands often via San Jose's downtown. They hold blue and minor white collar jobs at an employment rate that exceeds the national average: 95%. Forty percent are employed in electronic, automobile or aircraft assembly palnts; the remainder are divided among service occupations, sales and the government including the military. Of the 273 households sending children to Aldertree during the study, eight percent were headed by single adults, the remainder having at least two and sometimes three or more adults. Forty-three percent of the households were run by two or more employed persons.

San Jose's population more than doubled during the sixties. The census tract to which Aldertree belongs experienced a four-fold increase in population. Although this tract includes homes beyond Aldertree's attendance area, the outlying residences are few. According to the census figures for 1975, this tract is 48.3% Caucasion, 32.9% Spanish

surnamed, 8.5% Black, with the remainder Filipino, Chinese, Japanese, American Indian and 'other.'[a] In 1975, Aldertree's student body reflected slightly different proportions: 50% white, 29% chicano, 19% black and 2% Asian.[b] The proportions have remained relatively stable over the school's eight year history.

We shall refer to the three predominant ethnic groups in terms used by teachers and students at Aldertree. Persons of Afro-American heritage shall be called "black," those of Hispanic ancestry will be referred to as "chicanos," and Euro-Americans will be labeled, "whites." While not universally applied, these labels are used most frequently and reflect designations of pride among the groups at this historical point. The twelve Asian-Americans and the two Native Americans will not be included in the quantitative analyses of achievement and friendship patterns. Our intention is not to diminish the individual importance of these students to the school by doing so, but, rather to recognize the limitations of interpretation when samples are that small. The reader will note that we are using lower case designations for the ethnic groups in the narrative. This, too, is a result of prevailing (though arguable) convention. Whatever designation or case type chosen invariably stimulates protest and I do not envisage I will escape it here. While understanding the limits of pleasing everyone, the intention is to disparage no one.

Aldertree is a neighborhood school with all regularly assigned children within walking distance. Children participating in the Ed-

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[a] Ethnic labels given as they appear in census summaries.

[b] Ethnic labels are the author's.

ucationally Handicapped program and a few inter-school transfer students are transported by bus. During the first year of the study, we became interested in where families of the various ethnic groups lived. Housing tract maps were made available to us with the houses individually marked. Using this and the addresses of the students made available to us by the school we were able to determine that the three ethnic groups are evenly dispersed throughout the attendance area (see Figure 1). The houses were built in three stages by two different construction firms. By dividing the attendance area into three parts and calculating the proportions of white, chicano and black households (excluding those who do not send children to Aldertree) we get the following figures: subdivision 1 - 49% white, 28% chicano, 22% black; subdivision 2 - 50% white, 36% chicano, 13% black; and, subdivision 3 - 56% white, 28% chicano, 16% black. The reader will note that these proportions are close to the proportions of the student body. Although the partitioning is admittedly arbitrary, they are based on pre-existing divisions and illustrate, along with Figure 1, an ethnically integrated housing pattern.

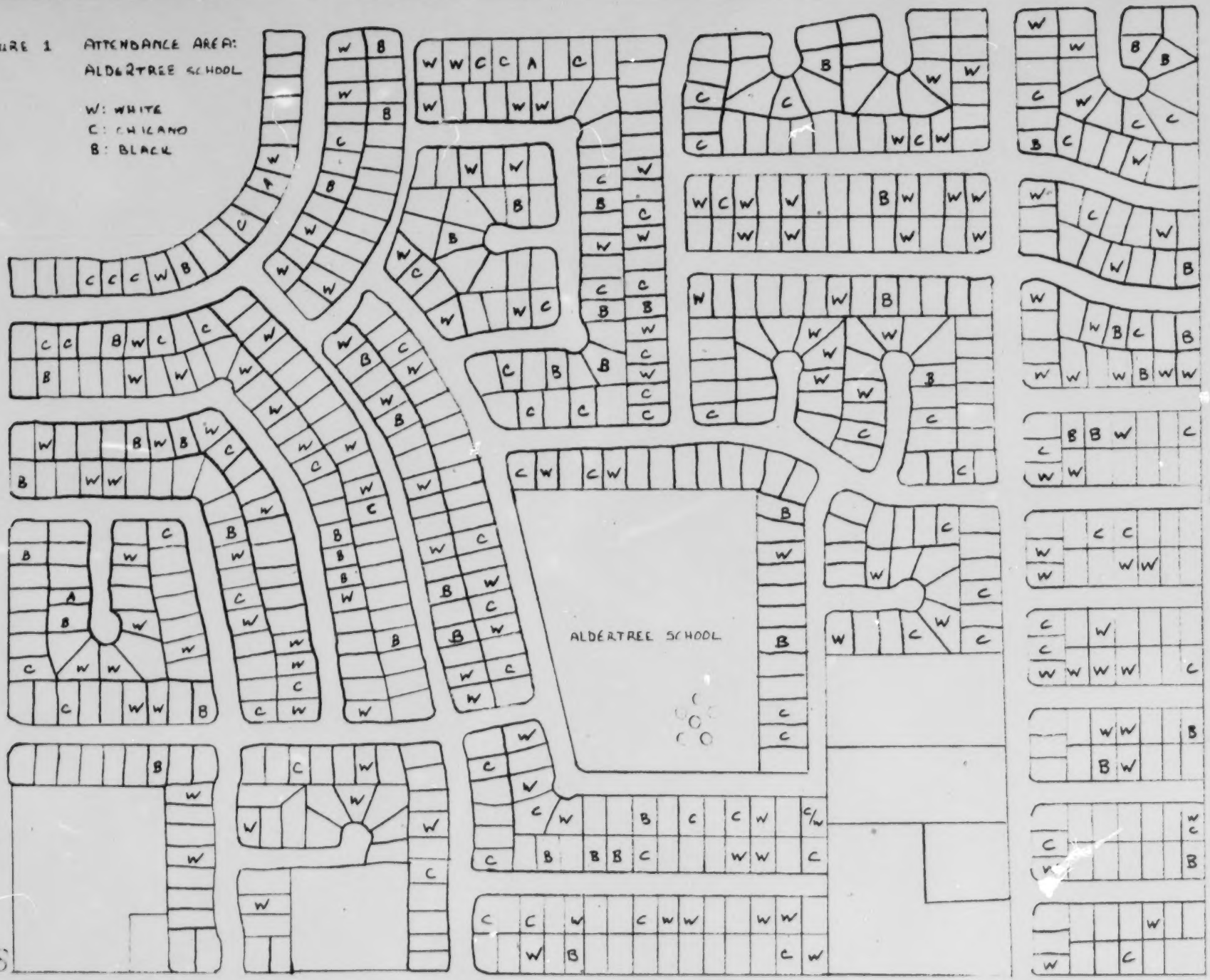
Why did people move to Aldertree? In our interviews with 20 different parents we included the question, "What attracted you to the Aldertree District?" Foremost among their responses was the fact that the housing was reasonably priced:

> Well, our home was small and this was the least expensive home we could find at the time.
>
> We moved from back east and wanted to live near the foothills. This was a new tract when we moved in three years ago (1972), so it was brand new. It was the kind of house we were looking for, it was in the right price range we were looking for.

Others mentioned the proximity of the homes to elementary, junior and

FIGURE 1 ATTENDANCE AREA: ALDERTREE SCHOOL

W: WHITE
C: CHICANO
B: BLACK



schools; the "country" atmosphere; and, the "niceness" of the neighborhood in general. Only one respondent, a black parent, mentioned the ethnic balance as an attraction. She said that her last neighborhood was "too white" and the one previous to that was "too black." We asked the others about the influence of "the people who were living here at the time," and were told either that no one was living here when they moved in or that they didn't know who was living here when they moved in. Apparently, the multi-ethnic character of the neighborhood is neither a sufficient attraction to be a reason to move here nor for those remaining is it seen as adequately disadvantageous to merit relocating.

In informal conversations with several white parents not included in our interview sample we learned that the decision to move to Aldertree caused dissension between some of our residents and their families and friends:

> My parents are really prejudiced. When they heard we were moving here they couldn't stand it.

We do not know whether white parents had (or would have had) reservations about moving in to a multi-ethnic community; there is evidence, however, that they are currently pleased with their situation. The white parent quoted above continues:

> But I think it's good to live in a community like this, don't you? I mean, we should all learn to get along, don't you think?

A black parent states:

> The kids don't even seem to realize any difference as far as color. They are just all kids. Yeah, it's really great. My children, they don't feel they're any different. It's not like when I was going to school, not at all!

If things are, indeed, different here with respect to interethnic attitudes, one senses that it is less a result of liberal ideology than of people coming together who share a desire to attain the American Dream. In this community where white, black, brown and yellow live side by side, one suspects that integration is a by-product of upward mobility: the desire to flee congestion for space, to own one's home, to send children to a neighborhood school. Other priorities have overridden the idiom of ethnic identity and the stigma many believe to be attached to an "integrated neighborhood." This is not a community of professionals with much to lose; it is a collection of individual families with much to gain. Shared economic status and values can be great mitigators:

> I bet we're different from other schools, aren't we? I mean, California is a good place to be. I bet we don't have the problems the others have, do we? People moved here because they could afford it and the houses are nice. I think one reason things are good here is the minorities--if that's what you want to call them--are not poor. They care about education; they have pretty good jobs and I think that makes some difference, don't you?

The Physical Setting

We approached Aldertree for the first time from the west. Turning right from the thoroughfare that forms the community's western boundary, we traversed four blocks of tract homes. We could go no further in this direction as a chain link fence encircling a spacious, grassy three block square halted such progress. To our left was an expanse of lawn; straight ahead and to the right we could see a cluster of octagonal buildings perched like mushrooms on a field of green. Turning right and following the curve of the street to the left, we encountered a break in the fence indicating we had reached the entrance. A small parking lot accommodating

about thirty cars beckoned. One gate in the fence guided us onto the school grounds. The concrete pathway led straight to a central pod that, by its location, signified an importance that its five satellite pods did not share. Indeed, this turned out to be the administrative hub of the school (see Figure 2). In a direct line from the entry gate sat the main office. Passing through the door our progress was again halted; this time by a large counter behind which sat the school secretary.

Crossing into the center of the pod we could see the office of Mr. Egan, the principal, a room past the mailboxes to the left of the main office. Beyond his office we discovered the remedial reading room occupied by Ms. Fran Reed; the library presided over by Mrs. Lana Goff and her parent aide Mrs. Terry Myers; storage closets for audiovisual equipment; lavatories; Sandra Watson's Educationally Handicapped (EH) room; a teachers' lounge, and, finally, a small room serving as a first aide station. Each room in this central pod exits not only to its center but outside as well.

Concrete pathways lead from the central pod to each of the classrooms pods. One pod stood out from the others: as we approached the central pod, we noticed that the one on our right was surrounded by considerably more greenery. Unlike the other pods, it was not connected to another pod by walkways. In addition, the field behind this pod was completely enclosed by another fence. This pod contained two classrooms; the others each had four. We were not long in discovering that this protected area, closest to the entry to the school, housed kindergartners during the school year.

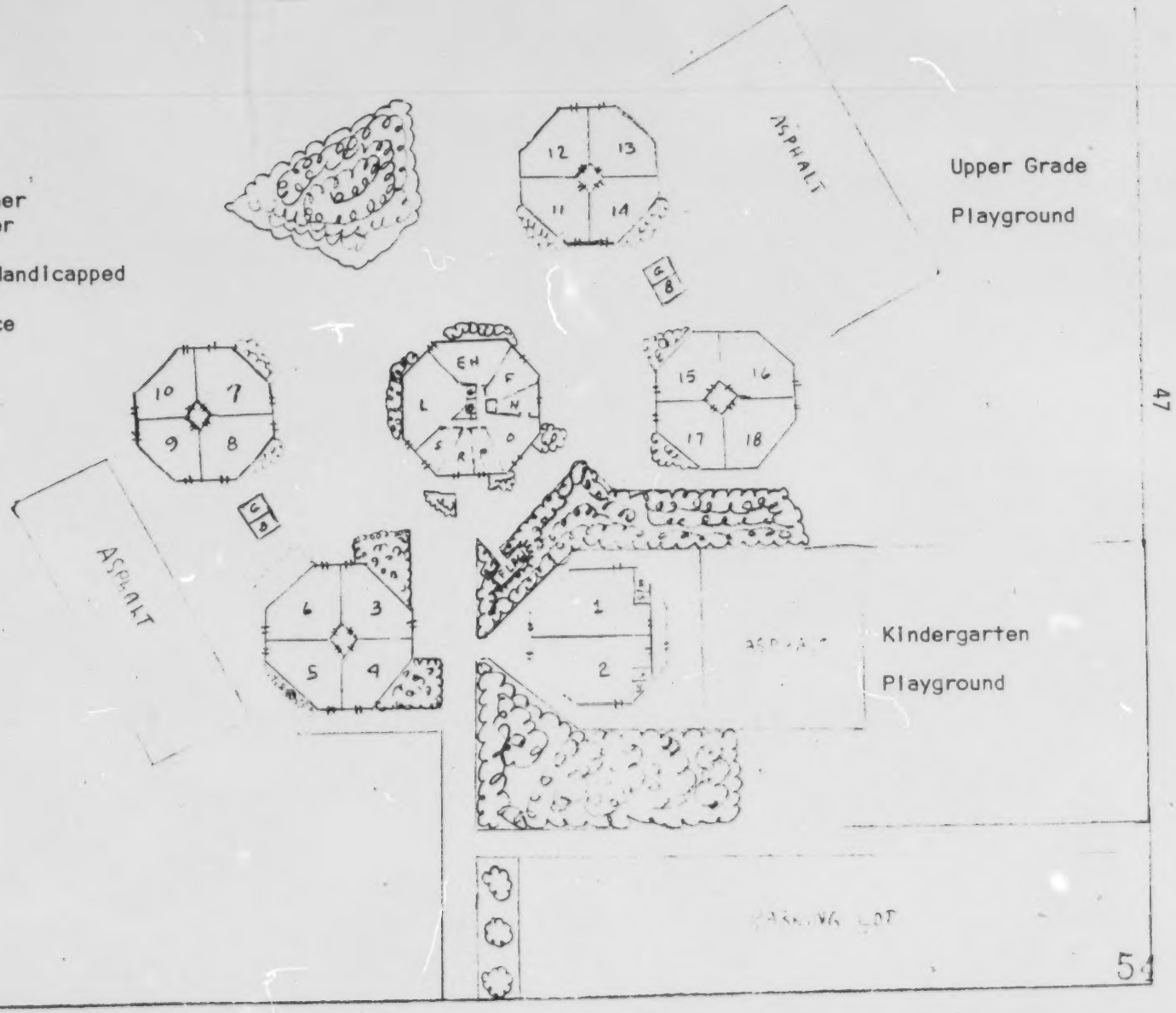
The two pods to our left as we entered contained the eight 'primary'

Figure 2

Aldertree Elementary School

Key:

1 - 18: Classrooms
G-B: Washrooms
O: Main Office
P: Principal
R: Reading Teacher
S: Speech Teacher
L: Library
EH: Educational Handicapped
F: Faculty Room
N: Nurse's Office



classes, i.e., grades one through three. The two pods to our right and beyond the kindergarten area served the 'upper grade' students or grades four through six. The primary and upper grade students had their own separate play areas: asphalt rectangles stretching toward grassy expanses.

The equipment on each of the play areas reflected the physical status of its users. The asphalt behind the kindergarten area was painted with two double columns of numbered squares. One could easily visualize these spaces occupied by children preparing to re-enter the classcoom after recess: one row each of boys and girls for each of the two classes. Between the 'lining up' markers we observed two hopscotch stencils and, toward the grass, painted circles ten feet or so in diameter. Swings, slides, and cylinders sat on a bed ot tanbark as did a small-scale 'jungle gym,' (see Figure 3).

Advancing to the primary play area the environment changes. The edge of the asphalt nearest the pods is not marked with numbered columns but with a series of single numbers indicating the vicinity in which the students of each class are to line up after recess and lunch. The dodge ball circles of the kindergarten area are supplemented by bisected rectangles that primary students use to play nationball. Swings and a slide are again in evidence; horizontal bars and rings are added. Tether ball posts stand guard to the right and the left; the jungle gym is taller and broader. The grassy area--larger than that for the kindergartens, smaller than that for the upper grades--can accommodate several soccer games, (see Figure 4).

The upper grade playground is similar to the primary playground with

Figure 3

Kindergarten Play Area
Aldertree School

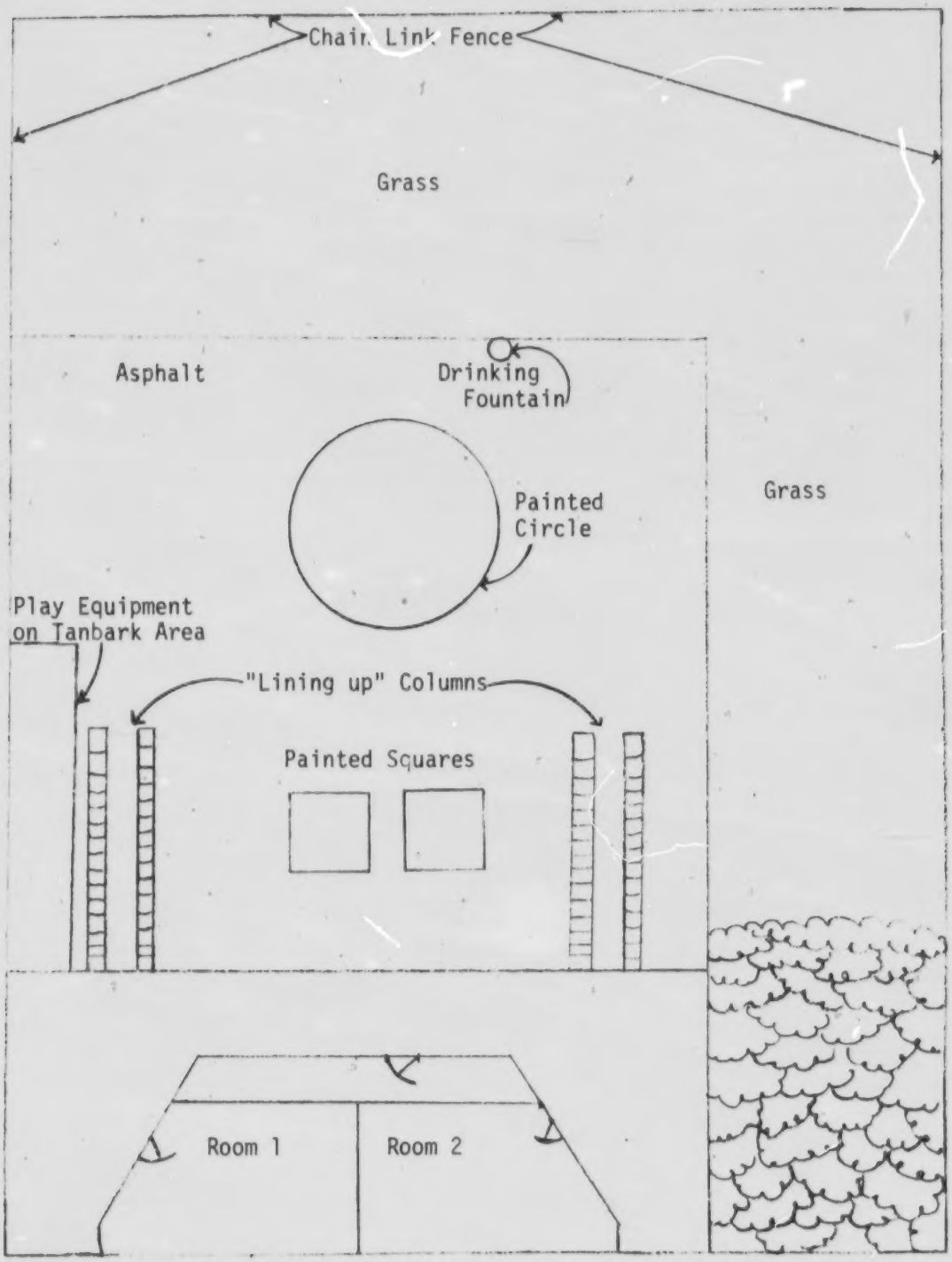
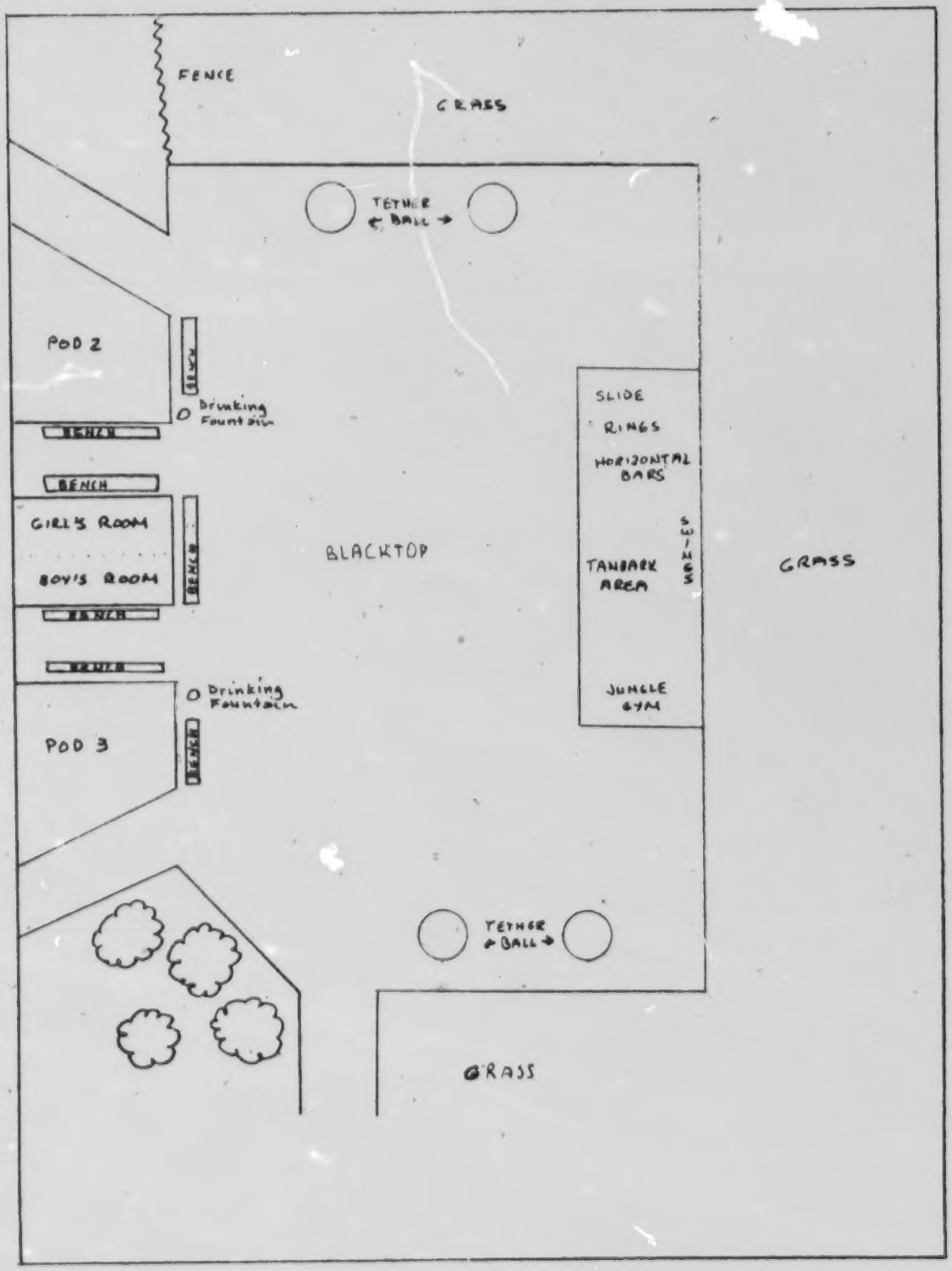


Figure 4

Primary Playground Area

Aldertree School



two exceptions: both the blacktop and grassy area are larger and basketball nets are added to each end of the blacktop area. Redwood benches surround the blacktop area on both the primary and upper grade yards, (see Figure 5).

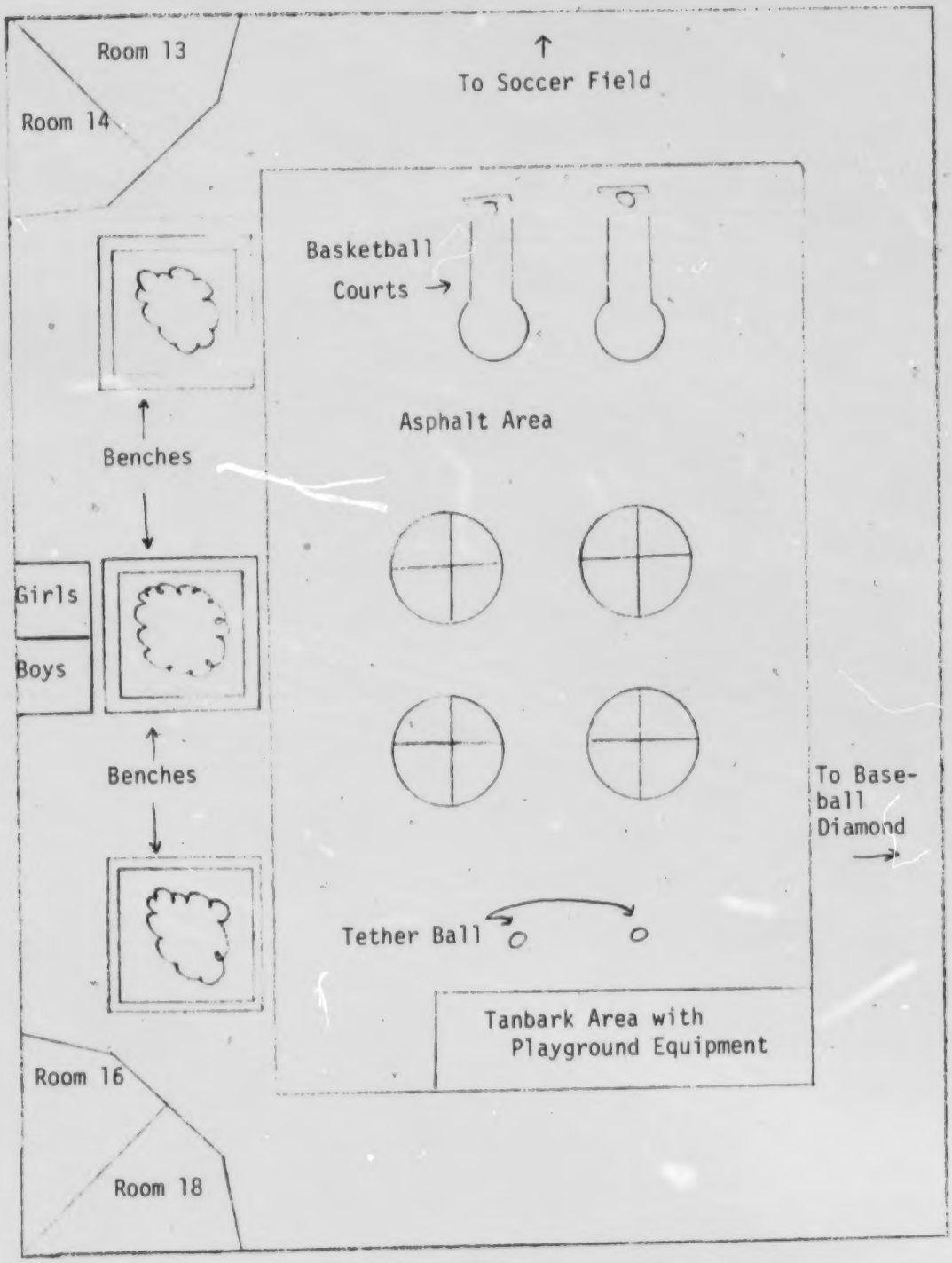
Two lavatory buildings are available to the students: one between the two primary pods and one between the two upper grade pods. The EH room and the two kindergarten rooms have facilities within them.

Overall, the structure and environs of Aldertree reflect modern school design in mild climates. For those of us raised in harsher climes, it does not evoke nostalgia: gone are the inevitably 'school green' hallways, the compound odor of Pine Sol and Johnson's paste wax, dirty red bricks and windows protected by chicken wire. Even the post-first day clutter of candy wrappers and other detritus of the young are absent.

The exterior of the school is Juan's domain. Although nearing retirement age, this lean, dark haired, bespeckled man suggests someone much younger both in years and in energy. He is known and respected by virtually every student who has attended Aldertree for at least two weeks. If a child drops a bit of paper, he is apt to be reminded by another, "You'd better pick that up of Juan'll get after you!" Invariably, the paper is retrieved. The shrubs lining the walkways are regularly watered and trimmed; the lawn is faithfully mowed and fertilized. Perhaps the greatest indication of Juan's status and respect here at Aldertree occurred during California's recent two-year drought: while water usage was curtailed severely under threat of substantial fines, Juan's allotment for his flora was never reduced. One final note: in our experience, school lavatories are notorious for the quantity, if not the quality, of

Figure 5

Upper Grade Playground Area
Aldertree School



graffiti on the walls and chronically paper-stuffed sinks. In eight years the lavatories of Aldertree have never been painted and we never observed graffiti. We were told that students occasionally mark the walls; however, if this is so, it must be quickly removed. It must also be merely superficial as the paint has never yielded to sharp implements. The 'shiny penny' look of most schools on the first day of classes typifies this school throughout the year.

Parental Participation

The visual appearance of Aldertree School reveals the value its constituents place on order and maintenance of physical property. There is a visual continuity between the residential area surrounding Aldertree School and the school itself that suggests a reciprocity of school and community. What social relations, we wondered, tie the school to tis environs?

As we noted above, Aldertree is located at the hub of a wide circle of private residences. All commercial establishments frequented by Aldertree residents are shared by people from other neighborhoods so there is no explicit school-community tie. With the exception of the four small churches on the boundary of the attendance area, the school is the only forum for social exchange in the neighborhood.

Opportunities for contact between the school and community are provided both directly and indirectly; both formally and informally. Direct and formal exchanges take place through two school-based organizations: the Parent-Teachers Association and the School Advisory Committee. Both organizations are composed of parents and Aldertree staff members; they

both serve as a place where staff can report to the community and parents can transmit their concerns. They differ in that the PTA is supported by a dues paying membership empowered to raise funds for the school's use while the SAC handles no money; the SAC meets to raise and discuss issues and advise the administration and district on matters of policy.

Neither organization commands a particularly high level of attendance--a fact that limits representation but enhances each attendee's opportunity to contribute in meetings. During the second year of the study, we observed all but one of the SAC's monthly meetings. Overall, participation by parents of the three major ethnic groups closely approximated the ethnic distribution of the student population:

white = 63%

chicano = 22%

black = 16%

The officers of the SAC were selected from volunteers all of whom--with one exception--were white. The PTA, on the other hand, was led by elected officers and the three presidents during the period 1975-1978 represented the three primary ethnic groups.

The SAC accomplished a number of things during the course of the study including getting crosswalks installed on a busy street, crossing guards provided for the children, additional adult supervision during the lunch period, and transportation for band students to practice with students from other schools. Approximately 80% of the parental concerns raised in the SAC were successfully resolved. Beyond the immediate concerns of parents for the safety of their children the kinds of issues introduced and discussed at the SAC meetings included informational items (library

hours, grading procedures, changes in the instructional program, etc.) and progress reports on long term projects such as the effort to get air conditioning installed, the construction of a shelter for children during lunch hour and the formulation of a district-wide student discipline policy.

A formal but indirect point of school community exchange is parental participation as paid and unpaid aides in the classroom, library and on the school yard. We call this "indirect" exchange because these parents are not present specifically to air their complaints or give approval; yet, in the course of working with teachers and talking with the principal--in informal chats--both the school and the parents learn about one another and this often leads to changes to the advantage of both. The classroom aides were unanimous in viewing their participation to be helpful to their children. The main advantage seemed to be the demystification of "the school." Many mentioned the benefits of learning that teachers are not so very different from "you and I" that they made mistakes and admitted them and are, in general, well intentioned. Participation sharply increased the "approachability" of the school.

The tie between parents and the school is reinforced through annual school-wide events. The first of these is an open house in early October. Parents are invited to visit the classrooms, meet the teachers and observe examples of children's work. Parents return again at the end of April for a spring open house. In 1976, the spring open house had a multi-cultural theme: "Around the World in 80 Minutes." Each classroom represented a country, continent or culture. Music, food and costumes centered on the selected culture(s). The holidays provided an opportunity

for three other school-wide events. The PTA planned and carried out a "Trick or Treat at Aldertree" evening. To avoid the danger of poisoned food from neighbors, students visited school rooms supervised by parents to receive their treats. A costume contest and movies highlighted the evening. In early December, the students perform in a Christmas program of songs and plays. Finally, in April, fifth grade students present a "Parade of the States." Each student brings a "float" decorated to represent aspects of a particular state, e.g., state flower and bird, agricultural or manufacturing products, historical importance, etc. The assistant superintendent judges the floats in three categories: four-wheeled (wagons), other wheeled (usually wheel-barrows) and hand-carried floats. First, second,third and three honorable mention ribbons are awarded in each category. One entry receives the grand prize award. This activity is discussed more fully at a later point.

Within the short seven-year history of this community, these school-wide traditions have become well-entrenched. The observer is struck by the extent of parental participation, particularly during the evening events. Teachers keep an account of the number of parents who attend: the primary classrooms average 90%; the upper grades average 80%. Over half the children are represented by both parents. This may partially be the result of early publicity (they are announced at least two weeks in advance) although attendance is also made easier because the school is centrally located in the community. A portion of the parents would always stay beyond the official end of the evening, indicating, we think, a sense of ease with the school.

To explore the parent-school relationship, we asked several parents

to tell us about Aldertree and what was important to a child's education.

When asked about Aldertree, the mother of a kindergartener said:

> They work really closely with the parents. They've always kept us very well informed as to where the kids stand and whether it's a problem or if they're doing good. They like to have parents come out and help which I've been doing for the last two or three years. It helps you get involved. And you really know where the kids stand that way. (I want my child to learn) the basics. So far, they've done a real good job.

This father has children in kindergarten and second grade. When asked about what he would like to see happen with their education, he stated:

> I have some pretty strong ideas about that. And what I would like to see is the education system teach my kids how to learn and how to...see, because, using my own experience in school, and I'm still in school, the most valuable thing to learn, or some of the most valuable things to learn are things like self-reliance and how to learn, so that when you leave school, it's still a continuing process...because life is really a learning process anyway. The more tools you have, the better you're able to learn. And I'm not so much concerned that they can do square root problems or that they can do this or that...I'm concerned with, well, just basically what I said, tools for learning. If they bring those out of school with them, I consider that they really got a lot done.

His wife added comments concerning how she would like the school to view her children:

> Well, I told her, I told the teacher that we would really at least not like to see them segregate the children at that age. Like when they tell them to line up, just say "Line up." It doesn't matter if the boys and the girls get in the same line. They get in the classroom. And I said, the kindergarten, of course, has separate bathrooms, you know, and I told her, it's one bathroom, but it's got two cubicles and one's for the boys and one's for the girls, and I said "What does it matter?" So she's gone along with that and said that she was concerned about it too, and when it was brought to her attention, she saw that it was like that. So, she's changed that and she's told the kids that they didn't have to get in separate lines anymore, you know.

> So I was really pleased with that. But it's still, it's in all the classrooms, not just in kindergarten, you know. And the kids are, it reflects in their attitudes, and I didn't like that.

A fourth grade girl's father states:

> I think the first on my mind is her ability to read, because that's the kind of the key to a lot of other areas, social studies, math, almost any one that you could name. I guess I'm more basic in my desires for Jennifer's education than reading and arithmetic, just to give her the tools to go on to a further education, if she wants it.

We asked a mother of kindergarten and first grade children how she feels:

> I haven't been too involved in school this year. I really don't know why. But the only problem that I thought, my kids are in the kindergarten and the first grade; is kindergarten, the stuff they've got for them isn't enough. My other daughter, compared to the school where my other daughter went and the kindergarten they got here, there was a whole lot of difference. My kids in kindergarten, they didn't get the basics, like the alphabet, the vowels and sounds and things, like she got in school. Besides, the teacher's are out of school for three months! But in first grade right now, o.k., Jerry's having a problem, a big problem, and in his little folders he brings home, I really can see what, unless they're doing without papers, he goes to speech and they have tutors and aides, I guess, they're supposed to. But I can see why he's having that problem right now. This could be my fault too because I haven't really been down there, to get on 'em about it. But as far as doing your own good for education, I think Aldertree is pretty good.

The mother of a fourth grade boy states:

> I heard of PTAs where they have their own little clique and in the first meeting, you know, they barrage you for everything and they're very warm people, you know. Everybody was willing to listen to you. And the principal is willing to listen. And I think this is important. I made a remark about, it was a pretty big meeting, and I just thought there should be more continuity between third and fourth grades and the idea that in third grade my kid had absolutely no homework and going into fourth grade, the first grade he needed a biography of himself plus a million other things. And each night he had quite a bit of homework and the work was so much more difficult compared to third grade. And I didn't understand it. Joe didn't

> understand it. So we went to the neighbor across the street who has a fifth grader. And of course it was simple but we didn't know. So in a way, we learned as I told you, you know, I said it was more like a religion, you know, we'd all sit at the kitchen table and work on the homework and I think it's good. I think it's good for the family, it is, it brings you closer together. And our kindergarten child would sit with her books and say she was doing her homework. It was kind of nice really.

She continues:

> I think the discipline thing is the most important to me. The whole idea, I really don't know. The reading, writing, arithmetic thing is important and I think now though...this is fourth grade. I really wasn't awfully familiar with third grade. I was disappointed with third grade here last year, I don't know what it's like this year. You know, there was one teacher in the pod that I guess had a habit of yelling and even the children in the other (pods) like my child and his friends would say, "oh, heavens!" They can't stand it sometimes. I was surprised about that. We get that at home, you don't have to go to school to get that. I didn't feel...he must have learned something from kindergarten to third grade. There's no doubt about it. He's on the honor roll this year, which considering he couldn't say his name when he was in kindergarten and now this year he's on the honor roll. And it makes us really proud.

Two themes emerged from the parents' discussion of the school: what should be learned in school and how students should be viewed. Most parents wanted their children to get "the basics," reading, writing and computing skills. A vocal minority of the parents wanted their children to learn "how to learn."

Patterns of Achievement

Standardized achievement tests are the yardstick by which many educators and the public measure academic success. Despite the increased vigor with which opponents are arguing the case against standardized tests, many would submit that they are a good index for assessing the status of

minority students in relation to that of majority culture students. A decade ago Coleman documented the wide-spread and unequal academic status of most minority groups in American schools:

> With some exceptions--notably Oriental Americans--the average minority pupil scores distinctly lower on these tests at every level than the average white pupil. The minority pupils' scores are as much as one standard deviation below the majority pupils' scores in the first grade. At the 12th grade, results of tests in the same verbal and non-verbal skills show that, in every case, the minority scores are *farther below* the majority than are the 1st graders'. For some groups, the relative decline is negligible; for others it is large...Thus, by this measure, the deficiency in achievement is progressively greater for the minority pupils at progressively higher grade levels. (Coleman, Campbell, *et al:* 1966:21).

Assuming (as we do) that ethnic identity is not related to one's capacity to learn or develop skills, Coleman's findings confirm a state of serious disequilibrium among ethnic aggregates. We are not suggesting that people should emerge from 12 years of schooling with the same level of competence on a given set of abilities; individual preferences, motivation and tenacity would dictate otherwise. Coleman's findings describe a serious problem because they show that educationally relevant competencies are not randomly distributed across groups of people that are partitioned on the basis of non-relevant criteria. A state of equality among ethnic groups exists to the extent that the benefits of schooling (achievement, participation in school-related activities, and friendship patterns) are not differentially predicated on membership in a specific ethnic category. Ideally, we would expect no differences in either the range of competencies on a particular dimension nor in the distribution within that range. Having set forth this thesis, we will turn now to a discussion of achievement patterns exhibited by majority and minority

students. These data are analyzed by grade level and year of test administration. The average number of white children per grade level is 34. There are an average of 22 and 12 chicano and black children per grade level respectively. Since very small samples are inherently unstable and difficult to interpret, the minority students are aggregated for purposes of these analyses. This is justified as we are primarily interested here in the degree of overlap between majority and minority scores. All chicano students at Aldertree are fluent in English; most are *not* bilingual.

The State of California mandates achievement testing in the spring of the first, second and third grades. Aldertree School administers three subtests of the Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills (CTBS): reading, language, and math. White and non-white aggregates of these data were made available to us for analysis. We examined the data in two ways: to determine distinctions between groups in terms of central tendencies and to determine the degree of articulation or overlap between the two groups.

Coleman (1966) reported mean differences between white and non-white students (excepting Oriental Americans) approaching one standard deviation at the first grade. This difference tended to increase across progressively higher grade levels. We wondered: Does this pattern hold for Aldergree School? This is not an entirely appropriate question as Coleman did not report patterns of interethnic differences within schools but, rather, aggregrated pupils across schools. It is quite possible that the general pattern does not hold for any given school. Mercer, however, examined achievement scores in reading at the third and sixth grade levels in 56 desegregated elementary schools in California. The conclusions of her

study in 1972 are no more promising than Coleman's:

> Differences are large and statistically significant. Anglo children perform significantly better on these tests of academic skills than either Mexican-American or black children. Clearly, the desegregated schools in our sample have not yet achieved parity in achievement outcomes for children of all racial/ethnic backgrounds. (Mercer: 1974:45).

To determine the relative status of white and minority achievement outcomes at Aldertree we began by calculating the means and standard deviations for each group by grade level and sub-test for each of the two years covered by this study. Next, we divided the differences between means by the white standard deviation thereby obtaining difference scores expressed in terms of standard deviation units. These data are presented in Table 1. Two rather interesting patterns can be detected. First, the differences between white and non-white mean scores is considerably less in 1977 than they were a year earlier. In 1976 the differences ranged from .33 to .75 standard deviation units; in 1977 the range maintained approximately the same magnitude but was reduced in absolute terms to .04 to .47. Second, there is a clear tendancy for the differences between groups to *decrease* as children advance through the primary grades.

Another way of assessing the relative academic competence of student groups is to examine the degree of overlap between the two groups. Ridit analysis--developed by Bross (1958) and applied to educational test data by Beard, Burk and Nungester in 1975--is a useful technique to examine this question. In simple terms, ridit analysis assesses the probability that a randomly selected subject from a comparison group will score higher than a subject randomly selected from a reference group. If we consider all white subjects the reference group and chicanos and blacks comparison

TABLE 1

Means, Standard Deviations and Differences Between Means in White Standard Deviation Units for Majority and Minority Students by Grade Level, Sub-Test and Year of Examination

Grade Sub Test Year	Mean		Standard Deviation		Difference	Number of
	Maj	Min	Maj	Min	s.d. units	cases
One						
Reading						
1976	61.6	56.6	14.9	14.0	.33	42(33)
1977	70.6	66.2	8.1	14.0	.47	38(38)
Language						
1976	29.1	26.6	4.0	4.4	.75	
1977	29.8	29.0	2.8	3.9	.28	
Math						
1976	37.4	32.5	9.2	8.9	.53	
1977	45.8	42.6	11.2	9.2	.44	
Two						
Reading						
1976	64.6	58.7	12.8	13.9	.46	32(36)
1977	61.6	59.3	13.4	13.1	.17	39(30)
Language						
1976	65.0	59.4	9.0	13.1	.62	
1977	64.8	61.5	11.8	13.8	.28	
Math						
1976	41.2	36.0	7.5	10.4	.69	
1977	40.7	38.5	9.2	11.6	.24	
Three						
Reading						
1976	65.5	54.5	14.2	16.3	.77	29(36)
1977	59.9	57.6	16.2	15.6	.14	31(35)
Language						
1976	72.7	67.9	14.6	12.5	.33	
1977	66.8	65.5	19.1	15.6	.07	
Math						
1976	78.1	73.1	11.1	15.5	.43	
1977	75.9	74.0	15.0	15.1	.13	

[a]Minority cases are noted in parentheses.

group subjects we can, through ridit analysis, calculate the probability that a minority subject's test score will exceed that of a randomly selected white subject. Perfect articulation of white and non-white scores would be indicated by a ridit value of .50.

Beard, Burk and Nungester examined eighth grade CTBS scores for all white and black public school students in Florida at two temporal points: pre-desegregation 1961 and post-desegregation 1974. Ridit values for the 1961 test group ranged from .096 to .120; in 1974 the ridit values increased ranging from .175 to .230. Although far from ideal, the post-desegregation ridit values indicate a heartening convergence of white and black test scores.

The ridit values calculated for Aldertree studetns are presented in Table II. The probability that a randomly selected minority student's test score will exceed that of a similarly selected white student ranges from a modest .2886 to an encouraging .4513. That is, minority scores exceed white scores at least 29% and as often as 45% of the time. The ridit values indicate a substantial degree of overlap in white and minority scores. Convergence tends to occur across both years and grade levels. Since ridit analyses have not been reported on other similar school settings we have no base against which to compare our results. The number of cases, however, where the values approach the ideal of .50 is impressive.

The differences across time and grade level could be accounted for by 1) an absolute decrease in white scores, 2) an absolute increase in minority scores, or, 3) a relative change in either. To explore the source of the observed pattern of convergence, we identified the median

TABLE II

Ridit Values for Three CTBS Sub-Tests
by Grade Level and Year of Examination

Grade / Year	CTBS Sub-Test[a] Reading	Language	Math
One			
1976	.3719 *(75)*	.3310 *(75)*	.3035 *(75)*
1977	.3840 *(76)*	.4513 *(76)*	.3816 *(76)*
Two			
1976	.3601 *(68)*	.4231 *(68)*	.3747 *(68)*
1977	.4321 *(69)*	.4412 *(69)*	.4362 *(69)*
Three			
1976	.2886 *(65)*	.3639 *(65)*	.3598 *(65)*
1977	.4004 *(66)*	.4127 *(66)*	.4061 *(66)*

[a] Number of cases indicated in parentheses

percentile ranks. An examination of Table III shows white scores tending to remain stable while minority scores tend to increase across time.

Acknowledging the limitations of the data both in terms of the period they cover and the number of grade levels represented, we will cautiously speculate on an explanation for the increase in minority scores. Between 1975 and 1977 Aldertree did not undergo an important shift in population that would explain the results. Neither "white flight" nor a marked influx of talented minority students occurred. Staff changes were limited to a pregnancy leave by a first grade teacher during the first semester of the second year and a sabbatical leave by a fourth grade teacher during the second semester of the second year. Beyond our presence in the school, the only obvious change involved the introduction of the Early Childhood Education Program (ECE) that occurred late in the fall of 1975. Through this program, funds received from the state support parent aides in the primary classrooms, inservice training for all teachers, increased support personnel (library and movement education) and promotion of multi-cultural and parent education. The successful implementation of the ECE program may help explain the changes we described. If this is true, it suggests that schools *can* effect changes at least with respect to achievement test scores.

Unfortunately, we have almost no data on upper grade students. One sixth grade teacher administered and subsequently shared with us the results of a standardized reading examination he used to assess his students at the beginning of the 1976-1977 school year. A ridit analysis of the scores obtained by his students yielded a value of .4462 suggesting in a small way that minority students continue to do well *vis a vis* white

TABLE III

Median Percentile Values for Majority and Minority Students on Three Sub-Tests of the CTBS by Grade Level and Year of Examination

Grade / Year	CTBS Sub-Test[a]					
	Reading		Language		Math	
	Maj	Min	Maj	Min	Maj	Min
One						
1976	56 *(42)*	44 *(33)*	68 *(42)*	52 *(33)*	68 *(42)*	50 *(33)*
1977	70 *(38)*	59 *(38)*	68 *(38)*	68 *(38)*	82 *(38)*	75 *(38)*
Two						
1976	72 *(32)*	54 *(36)*	70 *(32)*	70 *(36)*	71 *(32)*	56 *(36)*
1977	55 *(39)*	55 *(30)*	73 *(39)*	70 *(30)*	71 *(39)*	68 *(30)*
Three						
1976	69 *(29)*	57 *(36)*	72 *(29)*	64 *(36)*	74 *(29)*	64 *(36)*
1977	71 *(31)*	58 *(35)*	64 *(31)*	57 *(35)*	63 *(31)*	57 *(35)*

[a] Number of cases indicated in parentheses

students through the upper grades.

Extracurricular Activities

There are three avenues of school-wide participation: student body officers, safety patrol and cross-age tutors.

TABLE IV

Frequencies of Students Participating in Extracurricular Activities

Activity	Ethnicity			
	Black	Chicano	White	Total
Student Body Officers	1	1	2	4
Safety Patrol	2	5	3	10
Cross-Age Tutors	9	17	30	56
TOTAL	12	23	35	70

As Table IV indicates, ethnic groups are reasonably well-distributed across all extracurricular activities. The one exception is the safety patrol where whites are under- and chicanos are over-represented. The safety patrol and cross-age tutoring program are daily activities at Aldertree. The safety patrol monitors the crosswalks surrounding the school twice each day: before and after school. The cross-age tutors are fifth and sixth grade students who are maintaining respectable grades. They are released for one hour each day to assist primary (K-3) level

teachers. They usually assist individual children or small groups of children with academic or play activities. We have no data on the purpose or activities of the student body officers.

"Parade of States" is a fifth grade activity that has evolved into an important school-wide event. All fifth grade students prepare a "float" in one of three categories: one-wheeled (usually wheelbarrows), two or more-wheeled, and other (usually hand-carried). Each student selects a state and creates an appropriate display based on the state's natural or man-made features. The floats are judged and then paraded around the perimeter of the asphalt on the upper grade playground for all students in the school.

The assistant superintendent for Cypress School District arrives 30 minutes before the parade to judge the "floats." The students remain in their respective classrooms during the judging. One might expect, therefore, that if performance levels are equitably distributed across ethnic groups, the winners of this spring competition would reflect this pattern. The ribbons awarded in the three categories in 1976 are noted in Table V. Of the 19 ribbons awarded, whites received 11 (58%), chicanos 4 (21%), and blacks 4 (21%). Whites received two more awards than would be expected while chicanos received two fewer than expected.

TABLE V

Ethnic Distribution of Awards in "Parade of States" Competition

Award	Category		
	One-wheeled	Two-wheeled	Other
First	Black	Black	Chicano
Second	White	White	White
Third	White	Black	White
Honorable Mention	2 White 1 Chicano	2 White 1 Chicano	1 White 1 Chicano 1 Black
Grand Prize			White

Interpersonal Attraction: student friendship groups

The desire to hold membership in an informal social group is a fundamental human motivation. Social groups occur wherever people gather, whether at work or during leisure hours. Our need to like others and be liked in return stems, according to Newcomb (1958), from an essential dependency on others for information about one's environment. This information is used to confirm and extend our sense impressions of events. This need motivates us to associate with those who support our attitudes and beliefs about the environment; who validate and expand our personal perspective.

The need for psychic support does not, of course, dictate all of

our associations. If we need to accomplish a technical task, for example, we may seek association with a relevant expert who may be quite opposed to supporting our attitudes and beliefs. The composition, then, of interpersonal associations will vary according to the nature of the need for which we seek gratification.

Scholars examining interpersonal attraction observe six general determinants of interpersonal attraction. Secord and Backman (1968) suggest people are likely to choose to associate with those:

1) with whom opportunity to associate is greatest (propinquity);
2) who possess characteristics most desirable in terms of the normative values of a larger group;
3) who are similar in terms of attitudes and behaviors;
4) who are perceived as viewing them favorably;
5) who view them as they see themselves; and,
6) whose company leads to need gratification.

These determinants do not necessarily occur together nor, in certain cases can they be consistent. For example, one may choose to associate on the basketball floor with a person who will assist in the gratification of one's desire to be a winning athlete, even though this same person clearly does not support one's general world view. Whatever the criteria, most associations occur through mutual attraction of individuals based on relevant similar or complementary characteristics.

The relevance of characteristics perceived important to social group formation varies among groups of people. In some contexts, certain characteristics may be considered the *sine qua non* for a social relationship while in others these characteristics may be utterly unimportant.

Concomitantly, for some people, certain characteristics may be almost always important while for others, these are almost never relevant. Knowledge of the bases for interpersonal attraction, then, can reveal important cues concerning the internal attitudes and intentions (or lack of them) among individuals.

The identification of student social groups in schools may be determined in several ways. We can observe who walks with whom to and from school, which children cluster together on the playground, how children group themselves for lunch, and, in the classroom, how they physically arrange themselves during free time. In addition to these procedures, it is possible to identify social groups through sociometric techniques.

Sociometric techniques are designed to assess interpersonal attraction (or cleavage) in groups. The data permit researchers and practitioners to graphically and quantitatively describe the affect structure of a specific population. Typically, group members are asked to specify preferences, according to some criterion, from among a bounded group of others. For example, students may be asked to identify classmates with whom they prefer to study, next to whom they would like to sit, or whom they prefer as teammates.

Sociometric tests have requirements beyond specifying the range of potential choices. Moreno (1953) suggests these conditions:

1) the number of choices should be unlimited within the boundaries of the group,

2) the choices should be made in terms of specific criteria,

3) the results of the test should be used to restructure the group, and,

4) choices should be made privately.

These requirements define sociometric measures in a relatively pure form; however, few researchers adhere to all of them (Lindzey, 1968). Researchers seldom have the freedom or desire to restructure the social setting on the basis of sociometric choices and, thus, validity may be reduced somewhat. If the setting was *really* going to be restructured, some choices may be altered. The second most common modification concerns the number of choices members may make; researchers often limit the number of choices to three or fewer. By specifying a number of choices each member must make, it is impossible to distinguish the isolate (who neither chooses nor is chosen) from the unchosen person (who may be somebody's n > 1 choice). This disadvantage is counterbalanced by problems of subject's time required to respond and complexities of analysis associated with unlimited choices.

In the spring of 1976, 389 elementary school children at Aldertree participated in this aspect of our study. Each student had previously been identified by his or her teacher as holding membership in the black, chicano or white ethnic group. This identification was cross-checked by the school secretary, who knew all of the students and their families. In cases of mixed parentage (approximately 7% of the student body) or cross-ethnic adoption, the student was assigned to group membership on the basis of physical appearance. Six grade levels are represented: K, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6.[c] One kindergarten and the three first grade classrooms did not participate. The younger children needed individual interviews and scheduling conflicts precluded the collection of data from all of these

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[c] Aldertree classrooms are balanced insofar as is possible on the dimensions of gender and ethnicity. Tracking by ability is not practiced.

classrooms. Among the remaining 14 classrooms, the ethnic partition is: black, 18%; chicano, 32%; and white, 50%. The sample is evenly split between boys and girls.

The Measure

Two sociometric and two perceptual items were included in the measure. The researcher asked each student to identify three classmates with who they played the most often, three with whom they would like to play *more* often, three who were talended (very good at something) and three whom were very good students.[d] The inclusion of the second sociometric question (who would you like to play with more often) is an attempt to uncover potential friendship patterns that may not be evident due to social pressure. For example, if the actual friendship choices reveal ethnic cleavage and the desired patterns do not, we would direct our attention to discovering why the potential interethnic friendships were not being realized.

The two perceptual items are included for two purposes. First, we wished to see if the concept of talent and academic competence are differentiated by students in the school setting. The talent question is extremely broad and would logically include the concept of academic competence. Is it, however, perceived by students as *only* academic competence within the school setting? Secondly, we wished to determine (if they are conceptually separate) whether different students are classified

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[d] Although we were assured by one kindergarten teacher that her students could cognitively grasp the concepts of "talent," "good student," and desired friendships, we found this not to be the case. These data, then, are reported only for grades 2 - 6.

in each. The order of the questions is intended to maximize the probability that the concept of talent will not instinctively be defined as academic competence, (see Appendix A for script).

Procedure

The rapport one builds and maintains is critical to the success of any field study. As in other aspects of our larger investigation, we introduced the sociometric technique to the administrative staff first and then sought cooperation with those most intimately involved: the teachers and the students. The increasing concern for the rights of parents and children in research endeavors led the principal to refer us to a district-level psychologist for permission to administer the measure. It was granted contingent on our promise to report the data in a derivative form and to assure confidentiality. We promised not to discuss the results with teachers except in terms of sex or ethnicity.

Next, we discussed the measure with each teacher. Initially, two teachers were hesitant to participate but were later persuaded. A sign-up sheet posted in the faculty lounge provided teachers with an opportunity to select a convenient 15-minute period for the administration of the measure. As mentioned above, one kindergarten and three first grade classrooms could not be examined due to time constraints.

A research assistant administered the test to the 12 second through sixth-grade classrooms. She enlisted the assistance of the classroom teacher to assure the privacy of the responses. Two other researchers individually interviewed students in the kindergarten classes. Each of the kindergarteners followed the adult to a private room or remote area

of the playground. A composite of photographs of their classmates cued the responses. As the data from each classroom were collected, they were sealed in a large manila envelope and returned to the research files.

Analysis

Sociometric data are extremely easy to collect; more difficult to interpret. Sociograms visually represent choices permitting low inference judgments about social "stars" (members who are frequently chosen), isolates or unchosen members and tight groups (three or four members who mutually choose one another). Matrices allow one to easily identify relative attractiveness of individual group members. As useful as these displays are, they do not provide sufficient information to determine the strength (cohesiveness) of a group, the degree of relationship among groups nor do they inform one about the underlying dimensions that define the group. Since our interest centers on the relationship of ethnic group membership to friendship group patterns, we turned to Latent Partition Analysis using the model developed by David Wiley (1967).

In brief, Latent Partition Analysis is a technique designed to discover underlying (or latent) similarities among independent and multiple categorizations of a single, finite universe of items. In this study, each student partitioned his classmates into two categories: chosen and unchosen. This sorting produced one manifest partition for each student. Each person is assigned a probability of belonging to each manifest partition. Since each student either belongs or does not belong, the probability will be either 1 or 0. The relationship of a student's manifest partition to each of the other students' partitions is the basis for

deriving a hypothetical latent partition matrix. Contained in this matrix are probabilities associated with membership in a specific manifest category. For example, if students A, B, C, and D belong to a latent partition, X, then each will have (depending on the pattern of choices) a specific probability of belonging to a given individual's manifest partition.

This technique permitted us to identify sociometric groups, produce a measure of the group's cohesiveness and compute the degree of association among groups. Typically, two to three relatively cohesive groups emerged within each classroom and at least one weakly cohesive "residual" group. The latter category exists because *all* students must be included in a latent partition.

Once the latent partitions are identified, it is possible to determine the relationship of a given characteristic to the partition. The characteristics we explored were: ethnicity, sex, talent and academic competence (the latter two based on student perceptions).

Results

Our purpose in examining friendship patterns was to identify and characterize informal social (or friendship) groups within a multi-ethnic elementary school. To begin, each student chose three playmates from among his or her classmates. The social choices were translated into both sociograms and social choice matrices. Following this step, the data were submitted to latent partition analysis for group identification. Correlations between friendship groups and the dimensions of sex, talent and academic competence are presented here. The relationship of ethnicity

to friendship groups is reported in terms of an analysis of variance.[e]

Gender

Latent partition analysis identified 54 friendship groups within 14 classrooms. One striking characteristic of the group structure in this school is the absence of cross-gender choices. Only 4% of all sociometric choices reflect cross-gender associations. Half of these are concentrated in the two kindergarten classrooms. Although nine of the 14 classrooms have at least one cross-gender group, these groups are not truly "groups." They are large and mixed because they contain the social "leftovers;" those students who do not hold membership in a cohesive social group or who have not been chosen at all. Earlier, we identified these groups as "residual." Of the remaining 44 groups, 21 are exclusively male and 23 are exclusively female.

The composition by gender of friendship groups is presented in Tables VI and VII. The average group size for bovs is 6.2, while the smaller female groups average 5.3 members. To examine this feature of the single gender groups we turned to the sociograms. The sociograms revealed a serpentine visual patterns for males, thereby producing larger groups, while female groups tended to cluster more distinctively. We think that playground behavior might contribute to this difference. Boys more frequently participate in interdependent team activities including basketball, football and soccer, while girls are more likely to

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[e] Since ethnicity is a discontinuous multiple variable in this study, we could not use it as a correlate. The relationship is determined through a one-way analysis of variance test.

TABLE VI

Composition and Correlations by Gender of Friendship Groups: Primary Grades.

Grade Classroom Group		Gender of Group Members		r
		Male	Female	
Kindergarten				
1	1		3	.44
	2*	12	6	.50
	3	4		-.24
	4		4	-.52
2	1		5	.50
	2	4	6	.26
	3	3		-.32
	4	7	1	-.51
Second				
3	1	15		-.92
	2		8	.57
	3		4	.46
4	1		4	.45
	2*	9	7	-.41
	3		3	.52
	4	4		-.39
Second/Third				
5	1*	1	8	.43
	2		5	.36
	3	9		-.85
Third				
6	1		7	.50
	2	5		-.59
	3*	11	6	0
7	1		7	.56
	2*	10	1	-.53
	3	5		-.43
	4		3	.53

* Denotes weakly cohesive "residual" groups

TABLE VII

Composition and Correlations by Gender of Friendship Groups: Upper Grades.

Grade	Classroom Group	Gender of Group Members: Male	Female	r
Fourth				
8	1		4	.58
	2*	13	2	-.57
	3		5	.56
	4	4		-.31
9	1	12		-.62
	2		7	.60
	3	5		-.38
	4		6	.50
Fifth				
10	1		5	.47
	2	5		-.54
	3*	8	7	-.28
	4		3	.45
11	1	10		-.58
	2		9	.60
	3		5	.47
	4	5		-.45
Fifth/Sixth				
12	1		4	.45
	2	5		-.49
	3		5	.53
	4*	7	4	-.48
Sixth				
13	1		6	.38
	2	6		-.51
	3	8		-.52
	4*	1	9	.49
14	1*	3	9	.50
	2	5		-.40
	3	5		.35
	4	4		-.35
	5		6	.50

* Denotes weakly cohesive "residual" groups

jump rope, use the playground equipment or talk to one another in small groups. This interpretation is supported by photographs and direct observation of students at recess.

The strong relationship of gender to friendship group membership is clear. Next, we examined the relationship of gender to each of the other choice dimensions. The distribution of choices by gender of chooser and chosen is presented in Table VIII.

Students consistently chose others of the same sex as themselves across all criteria. This pattern is most pronounced in the sociometric items. Cross-gender choices are equally rare among both boys and girls and somewhat more common among primary students than upper-grade students. Upper-grade students are more likely to select across gender for desired friendships than actual friendships; primary grade students choose similarly on both items.

Girls are nearly twice as likely to choose across gender along the dimension of talent than are boys, although both groups do make considerably more cross-gender choices here than on the sociometric items. Unfortunately, we do not know how each of the students interpreted the concept of talent; if we knew the bases, we might be able to explain these results.

Academic competence is the item most likely to produce cross-gender choices. Both boys and girls chose the opposite sex approximately one-third of the time. Cross-gender choices on this dimension are slightly more likely in the upper grades than in the lower grades.

TABLE VIII

Distribution of Across- and Within-Gender Social Choices by Gender of Chooser and Chosen*

Choice Criteria Grade Level	Males Choosing Females	Males Choosing Males	Females Choosing Males	Females Choosing Females
Talent				
2-3	33 *(18)*	155 *(82)*	55 *(30)*	126 *(70)*
4-6	47 *(16)*	246 *(84)*	76 *(29)*	184 *(71)*
Total	80 *(17)*	401 *(83)*	129 *(29)*	310 *(71)*
Academic Competence				
2-3	47 *(26)*	134 *(74)*	60 *(31)*	134 *(69)*
4-6	118 *(40)*	179 *(60)*	103 *(40)*	157 *(60)*
Total	165 *(34)*	313 *(66)*	163 *(36)*	291 *(64)*
Friendship				
K-3	18 *(07)*	252 *(93)*	20 *(08)*	232 *(92)*
4-6	4 *(01)*	286 *(99)*	5 *(02)*	252 *(95)*
Total	22 *(04)*	538 *(96)*	25 *(05)*	484 *(95)*
Future Friendship				
2-3	14 *(07)*	175 *(93)*	15 *(09)*	156 *(91)*
4-6	12 *(04)*	256 *(96)*	10 *(04)*	238 *(96)*
Total	26 *(06)*	431 *(94)*	25 *(06)*	394 *(94)*

* Percentages indicated within parentheses

Ethnicity

Of the 44 relatively cohesive groups, 41 (93%) are cross-ethnic; half of these (20) are tri-ethnic. The three single-ethnic groups are white; since half the school population is white, instances of all white groups would occur by chance. Two of these groups are located within a single kindergarten class; the third occurs in a fifth grade class. The two white kindergarten groups occurred in a classroom with very few minority girls: of 11 girls in this room, only 3 are minority students and they were joined by a white girl to form a group. The remaining white girls formed 2 white groups. Given the strength of gender and the lack of minority girls, this result does not particularly indicate ethnic bias. The occurence of cross-ethnic groups is, therefore, not related to grade level. Tables IX and X report composition of friendship groups by ethnicity.

Bi-ethnic groups may form in three combinations: black-white, black-chicano, and white-chicano. The observed and expected distribution of groups in these categories is presented in Table XI.

To determine whether the observed distribution of groups deviated substantially from the expected distribution (based on the relative proportion of students belonging to each ethnic group) the x^2 one-sample test was used. As indicated in Table XI, the x^2 value does not indicate substantial deviation from expected values.

Thus far we have reported two major results. Gender is strongly associated with group membership and race is not apparently associated with it. Further, we have seen that bi-ethnic groups appear to be distributed close to what would be expected by chance. We shall turn now

TABLE IX

Composition of Friendship Groups by Ethnicity and
F Probability Associated with the Variable, Ethnicity

Grade	Classroom Group	Ethnic Group			*F* Probability
		Black	Chicano	White	
Kindergarten					
1	1			3	.52
	2*	2	10	6	.27
	3	1	2	1	.64
	4			4	.12
2	1	1	1	3	.93
	2	1	3	6	.67
	3	2		1	.88
	4	2	3	3	.93
Second					
3	1	2	6	7	.08
	2		1	7	.07
	3		2	2	.87
4	1		2	2	.96
	2*	3	8	5	.96
	3	1	1	1	.51
	4		2	2	.63
Second/Third					
5	1*	1	5	3	.31
	2	2		3	.50
	3	3	1	5	.86
Third					
6	1	3	2	2	.13
	2	2	2	1	.20
	3*	2	9	6	.06
7	1	3	2	2	.71
	2*	2	4	5	.54
	3		1	4	.32
	4		1	2	.90

* Denotes weakly cohesive "residual" groups

TABLE X

Composition of Friendship Groups by Ethnicity and
F Probability Associated with the Variable, Ethnicity

Grade	Classroom Group	Ethnic Group			*F* Probability
		Black	Chicano	White	
Fourth					
8	1	2		2	.31
	2*	4	2	9	.98
	3	2		3	.60
	4	1	1	2	.10
9	1	2	2	8	.80
	2		4	3	.17
	3		1	4	.52
	4	1	2	3	.21
Fifth					
10	1	2	1	2	.72
	2	1	3	1	.40
	3*	3	6	6	.93
	4			3	.24
11	1		2	8	.39
	2	3	2	4	.98
	3	2		3	.20
	4		2	3	.01
Fifth/Sixth					
12	1	1	3		.02
	2	2	1	2	.77
	3		1	4	.76
	4*	1	2	8	.21
Sixth					
13	1		3	3	.25
	2	3	2	1	.09
	3	3	2	3	.06
	4*		4	6	.07
14	1*	2		10	.04
	2		1	4	.46
	3		2	3	.54
	4	2	2		.02
	5	2	3	1	.26

* Denotes weakly cohesive "residual" groups

TABLE XI

Distribution of Bi-Ethnic Groups

	Chicano-White	Black-White	Black-Chicano
Observed	13	6	2
Expected	8.7	7.1	5.2

$\chi^2 = 4.26$; $p < .20$; $df = 2$.

to a discussion of group structure as it relates to student perceptions of talent and academic competence.

In addition to the two sociometric questions, we asked each student to name three classmates that are talented and three who are academically competent. For the purpose of this investigation, a talented person is broadly defined as "someone who does something very well." Academic competence is defined as someone who is a "good student."

These variables were subjected to five statistical analyses. Correlations are reported on the variables of talent and friendship groups; academic competence and friendship groups; and, talent and academic competence. The relationship of talent and academic competence to ethnicity is analyzed at the classroom level. These data are presented in Tables XII and XIII.

Of the twelve classrooms in this analysis, six contained friendship groups directly associated with perceived talent. Since talent and its subset, academic competence, are highly correlated, it is not surpirsing that the three classrooms exhibiting group/academic competence relationships are a subset of the six in which talent is a variable associated with friendship groups. Table XII reports these data.

Twelve of the 46 friendship groups are significantly associated with the variable "talent." Five occur in the primary grades (2-3); seven occur in the upper grades (4-6). The five groups positively associated with the academic competence dimension are split 4 and 1 between the primary and upper grade levels. Positive and strong correlations between talent and academic competence occur in all but one

fifth and one sixth grade classroom.

The analysis of variance reveals no relationship of talent to ethnic group membership at the classroom level. One classroom, a fifth grade, does show a relationship of academic competence to ethnicity. In this classroom, two boys and two girls (all white) received 89% of the choices. This produced a *F*-ration significant at the .05 criterion level.

TABLE XII

Correlations for Primary and Upper-Grade Classrooms

Correlates	Primary Classrooms					Upper-Grade Classrooms						
	3**	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Talent												
r Friendship Group												
1	.54*	-.07	-.42*	-.18	.09	-.13	.07	.03	.41*	.07	-.45*	-.30
2	-.40*	-.33	.57*	-.03	-.24	-.34	-.33	.04	-.37*	.03	.21	-.13
3	-.25	-.04	-.20	.17	.25	-.05	-.02	-.38*	.31	-.27	.30	.02
4		.58*			-.07	.64*	0	.46*	-.25	-.09	-.10	.55*
5												-.06
Academic Competence												
r Friendship Group												
1	.41*	.32	-.42*	-.20	.09	-.03	.06	-.02	.04	-.11	-.25	-.32
2	-.34*	-.25	.65*	-.16	-.06	-.04	-.09	.01	-.14	.09	.07	-.24
3	-.11	-.05	-.27	.30	-.06	.12	.07	-.24	.35	.04	-.26	.77*
4		.07			.05	0	-.04	.36	-.13	-.02	.34	-.13
5												-.04
Talent												
r Academic Competence	.46*	.45*	.89*	.59*	.79*	.61*	.83*	.95*	.33	.77*	.55*	.21
df	26	26	22	28	26	27	29	27	28	24	29	31

* Denotes probability level $\leq .05$

** Denotes classroom number: K = 1, 2 - 2 = 3, 4 - 2/3 = 5 - 3 = 6, 7 - 4 = 8, 9 - 5 = 10, 11
5/6 = 12 - 6 = 13, 14

TABLE XIII

F Values for Primary and Upper-Grade Classrooms Denoting Relationship of Ethnicity to Friendship Groups, Talent and Perceptions of Academic Competence

	Primary Classrooms							Upper-Grade Classrooms						
	1**	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Friendship Group														
1	.679	.061	2.756	.029	1.241	2.231	.357	1.211	.222	.334	.993	4.536*	1.435	3.612*
2	1.377	.408	2.894	.033	.733	1.715	.652	.013	1.879	.956	.008	.268	2.642	.796
3	.460	.120	.140	.705	.154	6.283*	1.195	.526	.674	.061	1.687	.274	3.045	.628
4	2.300	.064		.484			.092	2.480	1.653	1.504	5.675*	1.673	2.926	4.154*
5														1.339
Talent			2.678	.747	1.230	1.699	.534	1.788	.086	3.010	1.519	.896	1.470	2.830
Academic Competence			.080	.308	.976	1.616	.204	.473	.450	3.449*	2.821	.260	.297	2.668

* $p \leq .05$

** Denotes classroom number: K = 1, 2 - 2 = 3, 4 - 2/3 = 5 - 3 = 6, 7 - 4 = 8, 9 - 5 = 10, 11
5/6 = 12 - 6 = 13, 14

Summary of Results

LEA

1. Identified 54 social groups

   a. 44 are cohesive
   b. 10 are residual

Gender

1. All cohesive groups are exclusively male or female.

2. Male groups average one or more persons per group than female groups; more males than females are located in relatively diffuse residual groups.

3. Cross-gender choices

   a. Uncommon on sociometric items
   b. More common for girls than boys on talent item
   c. Equally common and most frequent on academic dimension
   d. Cross-gender choices more common at primary level for sociometric items: more common at upper-grade level for academic competence item.

Ethnicity

1. 93% of cohesive groups are multi-ethnic; 3 groups are all white

2. Bi-ethnic groups (48% of all cohesive groups) are ethnically composed as expected by chance.

Perceptions of talent and academic competence

1. Six groups are associated with variable academic competence (13%) 12 groups are associated with variable talent (26%). Former is subset of latter.

2. Groups associated with talent evenly divided between primary and upper-grade levels; groups associated with academic competence disproportionately located in primary grade level.

3. Talent and academic competence positively correlated at classroom level in 83% of the cases. The two exceptions occur at upper-grade level.

4. No relationship between ethnicity and talent occurs at the classroom level; a relationship between ethnicity and academic competence occurs in one upper-grade level classroom where four white students receive 89% of all choices.

Implications

The characteristics of sex and ethnicity are considered far more often than almost any other ascriptive variable in educational research. If they are not treated as independent variables, they are at least controlled for in most studies. The reason they are preeminent stems from their apparently strong effect on student outcome measures including academic achievement, occupational attainment and sense of efficacy in the political and social domains.

The failure of the ethnic variable to predict friendship group composition and to shape student perceptions of academic competence and talent bears further examination. If ethnicity is not relevant, what are the basis for social choice and attribution of competence? We know that consensus of competence increases with age. How do teachers organize and allocate students? What cues do students use to identify good students? Why do social groups form?

In Section VI the social organization of a classroom and its contribution to friendship patterns is addressed. Here, we can offer a tentative explanation for the frequency of cross-ethnic friendship groups as a function of purely structural characteristics of the school. Classrooms are the primary organizational unit both at school and, according to parents, at home. Children tend to play with their current classmates at home as well as at school. This is easily accomplished given the geographically restricted attendance area of Aldertree School. Students' assignment to classrooms is structured to achieve ethnic, gender, and academic balance. Given the power of the relationship of gender to the probability of belonging to a given group, student choices within their

gender group are somewhat restricted. There are an average of 14 white students, 9 chicano and 5 black students in each classroom; crossing ethnicity with gender halves these figures severely limiting opportunity for same sex all chicano or all black friendship groups.

Summary and Conclusions

This section locates Aldertree School geographically and economically in the introduction. The physical plan and a brief and straightforward description of avenues of parental participation followed. The last three sections addressed the academic, extra-curricular and social friendship structures of students at Aldertree considered in light of their ethnic identity. The collection and analysis of the latter data consumed considerable time and energy on the part of the researchers--time we did not initially expect to have to spend. The analyses became necessary as the study progressed and we realized that the achievement patterns typical of ethnic groups nationally or regionally probably did not reflect the pattern at Aldertree and the friendship group patterns were not reflective of patterns reported for other interethnic settings. These analyses serve, then, to supplement the field notes by providing evidence from another point of view.

Taken together, the achievement and social friendship analyses sketch a picture of Aldertree as a school exhibiting a substantial degree of articulation among ethnic groups. Friendship groups are formed completely independently of ethnicity and achievement patterns are not highly related to the ethnic variable. The mean values for minority achievement are very close if consistently lower than scores for majority students. The ridit analyses exposed a high degree of overlap between the majority and minority group distributions. This may not be an unusual situation for multiethnic schools. We cannot determine if it is until others examine data using the school as a unit rather than aggregating students across schools.

IV

IN THEIR OWN WORDS: TALKING WITH TEACHERS

The goals and structure of schools in western societies are inherently paradoxical. In any single school we can see the tensions created by trying to motivate in an essentially coercive environment; in rewarding individual stricing while emphasizing social responsibility; giving voice to creativity while relying on conformity; struggling for professionalism within bureaucratic constraints; maintaining order in the face of imminent chaos. In the presence of uncertainty and ambiguity, schools develop rules and procedures for behavior under certain, recognizable conditions while, at the same time, remaining sufficiently tentative in order to accommodate the unexpected.

Lortie (1975) has suggested that people in similar lines of work are likely to share preoccupations, beliefs and preferences. They will tend to focus on selected aspects of their milieu while ignoring others; they will explain phenomena in similar ways; and, will prefer certain types of working arrangements suitable to their occupation. If teachers in general share perspectives on these dimensions, will teachers in a particular school exhibit like-mindedness to an even greater degree? Because our study is limited to a single school, we cannot answer this question satisfactorily; however, by examining teacher sentiments within our school we hope to attain a sense of how Aldertree views itself and the world.

Twenty-four people--70% of the full-time adult staff--were interviewed in the spring of 1976 and 1977. The interview schedules (see

Appendix 2) centered on five areas: personal background, recruitment, goals, role, and structure.[f]

Personal Background: ancestral heritage

The staff at Aldertree consists of thirty-four people. Eighteen people are employed as 'regular' classroom teachers in grades kindergarten through six. One teacher serves the 'educationally handicapped' children whose ages range from six to nine; one teacher served the 'learning disabilities' children (ages 10 through 12) during the first year of the study; and, one teacher serves as a special reading and language skills instructor for primary age children. Other personnel are divided among the administrative staff and specialists. The administrative staff consists of a principal and secretary, two custodians, an office and health aide, and an aide to the teacher of educationally handicapped students. A librarian spends 2-1/2 days at Aldertree; her assistant is present on a part-time basis each day. Other specialists are district employees in the areas of instrumental music, vocal music, psychological services, speech, motor development and health.

Few changes in personnel occurred over the two year period of the study. A first grade teacher left due to her husband's transfer to another area of the state and the vocal music teacher was replaced due to her death. One substitute teacher divided her time the second year between a first grade class and a fourth grade class due to a pregnancy leave and sabbatical leave of two teachers.

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[f] The interview schedules are based on the Five Towns interview developed by Lortie that appears in an appendix to his volume, Schoolteacher.

Only six of the thirty-six staff members represent ethnic minorities: the custodians, the EH aide, and the health and office aide are chicanos. One teacher is black and one is an Asian-American. In questioning the other teachers and staff about their personal background we discovered the following ancestral proportions: 21% German, 43% British, 18% eastern European, 14% of southern European and 4% Scandanavian.

One-fifth of the staff are male including four of the twenty-four classroom teachers. Forty percent of the staff are native Californians; twenty percent are from the west coast; the remainder are from the rest of the country particularly the northeast.

Recruitment: rationales for the profession

In Schoolteacher Lortie discusses the attractions of teaching as an occupation, (1975). From his survey of teachers in five towns he identified five themes: interpersonal (working with people), service, continuation (liking school thus not wishing to leave the setting), material benefits, and time compatibility. Three of these themes dominated the responses of the Aldertree staff: interpersonal, service and material benefits.

The interpersonal theme surfaced most frequently. In several cases, the respondents had been engaged in closely related occupations and teaching was viewed as a natural consequence. Steve Goodwin, a sixth grade teacher, had worked as a recreation director for a large city before opting for a teaching career:

> I was director of a group of outpatients at (a mental institution) from ages 14 or 15 to 60 or 70, so I worked with all different age groups. It was quite an opportunity to see

> what age group that I finally wanted to work with. I love children and I like to watch them grow.

A fifth grade teacher, Beverly Zimmerman, stated:

> Well, I always enjoyed working with children. I had a girls' drill team and we marched in a lot of parades. I felt it was something I'd really enjoy.

Other teachers saw teaching as a natural extension of their previous experiences with social work, religious instruction and volunteer work with schools.

The service theme emerged most strongly among the specialists; only one teacher emphasized it. The specialists were attracted to their occupational positions through a desire to "help those who need it most." The one teacher, Jack Olano, turned to teaching out of a desire to accomplish something more than his current job was affording:

> The thing that made me go back to school was the lack of feeling of accomplishing anything in the post office. No matter how much mail you sort at night, there's still more to do. In teaching, I felt there would be a satisfaction... you could see something accomplished.

Material considerations were also mentioned. In the words of a female kindergarten teacher:

> To tell you the truth, I was out of school and working as a secretary and I heard about the intern program where I could go into teaching without getting a credential. To be perfectly honest, finances were the reason that I got into teaching. It wasn't that I thought I had any kind of qualities, but since then I've developed a love for teaching. But it was financial to begin with.

At the time most of Aldertree's teachers entered the profession, teaching was a more or less wide open field. There was a teacher shortage and the requirements for credentials were often not enforced.

Coursework could proceed simultaneously with actual classroom teaching. Perhaps because teaching was a relatively easy career to enter, it was not considered by some to be prestigious; several entered teaching because they felt inhibited from entering other occupations. Two first grade teachers shared their views:

> I have a hard time relating to adults. It's easier to talk to kids.

> I went into teaching with sort of a negative thing, a negative attitude about myself. I was very much introverted. My main interest was the sciences: chemistry and physics, but mainly chemistry. I felt negative about myself so the only thing I could possibly do and the last thing on the list would be to teach. You know, "If you can't do anything else, you can teach."

Even the choice of elementary teaching over secondary was viewed by some as negative:

> In college, I was very interested in secondary education, of course, but I got sick of teaching courses. I couldn't stand the thought that (to acquire a secondary credential) I would have had to have gone an extra year, so I chose elementary.

The Aims of Education: teachers' goals

Closely allied with the question of recruitment--why people become teachers--are concerns about what teachers try to accomplish. Teaching is an activist occupation. That is, teachers are engaged in effecting changes in people. While emphasis on content and method vary considerably across teachers, most would agree that they are committed to inducing or attempting to induce behaviors believed to lead to learning (Schlechty: 1976). Their accomplishments are focused on transforming people, most notably their students. Our observational notes document what selected

teachers at Aldertree overtly *do*; this portion of the interview schedule is designed to acquire a sense of what teachers *intend* to do. We have couched the question of intentions under the term *goals*.

Goals are ideas about desirable states of affairs. They refer to how things ought to be; i. e., a point of attainment toward which current actions are directed. Because goals are idealized conceptions, they can prove irritatingly elusive, vague and abstract. The familiar phrases "self-actualization," "teaching the whole child," etc. are responsive to qeustions about goals but lack analytic rigor. To capture how teachers think about goals, then, we approached the issue from two perspectives: abstract conceptions and concrete instances. The first three questions are designed to elicit ideal responses:

> Would you try to explain what you try to achieve as a teacher?
>
> What kind of future do you see for your students?
>
> What things to you consider most important for students to experience?

To support and clarify for us their responses to these questions, we asked teachers questions designed to elicit concrete and real instances of past accomplishment and failure:

> What is a good day like for you? What happens? How do you feel?
>
> Can you recall an occasion when you were especially proud of something you accomplished as a teacher?
>
> What kinds of things might have happened that you regretted having done?

In analyzing the responses of our sample of teachers, we found some rather

clear patterns. Subsequent to presenting how teachers talked about their goals, we will discuss some possible sources for and inducements to these conceptions.

There is a distinction in ideology between teachers of younger and older students at Aldertree. Kindergarten and primary level teachers stated their goals in terms of how children viewed themselves; i.e., they focused inner-directed, psychological aspects of child development:

> I think probably the biggest thing I look for is satisfaction in themselves. Sort of, "I'm doing it myself, it's my job, it's something I need to be doing for me." (Sandra Watson, teacher of educationally handicapped children)

> The main thing I think is important, especially in kindergarten is that the child likes school and they get a good start and they aren't unhappy with it from the beginning...success. The children shouldn't ever be pressured above their level. (Marge Friel, kindergarten)

> In teaching or any other kind of relationship, I think being liked is what everybody wants. After that comes wanting to see other people laugh and make them happy. (Sallie Kammon, kindergarten)

> I think, ideally, the thing a teacher can best do is build up self-worth; help bring out things that are inside a child rather than stuff him full of information. Build up self-image, self-worth, self-respect. When they are confident they aren't afraid to try something new, to make a mistake. (Shirley Maxey, first grade)

> I don't want to be an authority figure or a disciplinarian. I want to be a leader. I try to roll with the punches, to let the children determine how the day is going to go. It shouldn't be that everyone has to accommodate one person, the teacher, it should be the other way around. (Sylvia Waniel, third grade)

Teachers of older students expressed a clear shift of emphasis toward what we might call 'social' aspects of child development. The

stress on self-worth, self-confidence, personal happiness, and positive attitudes toward school--inner-directed attributes--gave way to concerns about responsibility, self-discipline, and motivation. These externally-directed characteristics denote an appreciation for civility; that students take into account and be responsive to group needs above their own individual needs:

> Well, besides trying to get through the regular curriculum, I try to instill some kind of sense of responsibility in students and, let's say, self-motivation. (Jack Olano, fourth grade)

> I try to teach them responsibility. I try to give them guidelines to work in because I think that's really important. I find that that's my main thing, teaching them how to behave without hitting and things like that. (Joan Hammond, fifth grade)

> I work and all my energies are directed towards developing a sense of feeling in the students that they are independent learners...I work to make them individuals, dependent solely on themselves. That, I think, is the essence of my teaching. (Steve Goodwin, sixth grade)

The shift from an emphasis on self to group awareness can be argued to be a consequence of differeing stages in maturity of the students; perhaps an increased consciousness of children as members of society. I do not think this is the case. The field notes reveal a rather unexpected but clear trend as students advance through grade levels: their autonomy and choices of activity are progressively reduced. In the kindergartens, for example, at least 30 minutes of daily classtime are devoted to "choosing time." During this period, students are free to move about the room, select activities, talk with other students, and so on. On the playground, they are free to jump rope, use the equipment, run on the grass or just sit and observe their classmates. While the range of activities

is specified and there are rules about how to carry out the activities, e.g., "Put away one game before beginning another," observers noted a great deal of self-directed activity in the kindergarten. In contrast, few of the upper grade students are permitted this degree of choice. Class time is heavily teacher- or program-directed. Playground activities tend to be more organized. It seems reasonable to conclude, therefore, that the conceptions about children reflected in the foregoing goal statements are grounded in the teachers themselves rather than in stages of child development.

As for the consensus within the primary and upper grade groups, it is probably a function of the pattern of interaction among the teachers. Almost all teachers spend time in the faculty lounge three times each day: morning recess, lunch and afternoon recess. Because of scheduling, primary teachers spend this time with other primary teachers; upper grade teachers with other uuper grade teachers. I suspect that their shared views have emerged from this setting. How they came to hold their particular, yet divergent, views is somewhat less clear.

The content of a given teacher's ideology about students undoubtedly stems from a variety of sources: pre- and in-service training, personal background, the social, economic and political climate of his or her community to mention a few. The school itself--its organizational configuration, particular set of teachers, cultural milieu, etc. also influences a teacher's conceptions. In thinking about sources of teachers' conceptions, we stumbled on one school-related possibility: its physical structure.

The reader will recall that Aldertree consists of five classroom

pods with three playground areas: kindergarten, primary and upper grade. The pods are of equal size and contain from two to four classrooms each. The kindergarten pod is divided into two classrooms; the others are divided into quarters. Before school began the first year of the study, we toured the classrooms beginning with the kindergarten rooms and progressing to the sixth grades. Our most striking impression from this tour concerned the use of space and how it changed from grade to grade. The kindergarten rooms were, of course, twice the size of any of the others. The center of the rooms were essentially empty being occupied by three tables seating six to eight students. The primary classrooms contained small tables with compartments for school supplies that seated two students each. In some rooms the small tables were arranged in squares with pairs of students facing other pairs; some were arranged in series of horizontal rows facing one side of the room; others were arranged in mixed patterns. The desks were small enough that at least two open areas where students could gather were available. In the fourth grade, a different pattern was evident. The desks became larger and seated only one student each. The size of the desks in the upper grades precluded the variety of arrangements available in the lower grades: typically, the upper grade desks were arranged in columns facing one side of the room. The open areas available to the primary students disappeared. So, moving from the kindergarden to the sixth grade, we saw a progression from almost no furniture and a lot of open space to rooms nearly filled with furniture and almost no open space.

It seems plausible to surmise that such spatial constraints affect teachers' conceptions of educational goals. The amount of space and type

and arrangement of furniture "tells" teachers something about what schools expect of pupils. Large, uncluttered, open rooms invite movement and spontaneous flexibility. Smaller (in terms of per pupil space) rooms filled with individually allocated desks occupying most of the available space constrain movement and limit the potential forms of instruction. The physical setting may not *determine* a teacher's goal orientation, but most certainly it can influence it. The concern for behaving responsibily, negotiating the classroom with a minimum of accidental or intentional physical contact and developing self-control and independence is consistent with the physical constraints of the upper grade classrooms.

Teachers' goals in the classroom should be conceptually related to their hopes for students in the future. Logically, what one hopes to attain in the classroom is bounded to some degree by conceptions of what skills and perspectives students will need in their projected future, if this is true, we might expect those who teach the children of corporation executives, university professors and high ranking politicians, for example, to view their students as the 'leaders of tomorrow' and note that they select and adjust the curriculum accordingly. Alternatively, teachers of low income, central city children may have restricted hopes for their students' future and, thus, aim to equip them with skills that will assist their students in becoming prudent consumers or to otherwise cope minimally in a harsh environment. In this section, we will explore Aldertree's expectations for their students.

We asked the sample of teachers, "Realistically, what kind of a future to you see for your students?" Their responses were most notable for their tentativeness reflecting, perhaps, the economic uncertainty of

the times or the marginality of the status of the people in the community they serve:

> I don't know. I hope they'll be happy. I see them doing craft kinds of things. This is my own idealistic fantasy: to work with the ground and earth. More with nature; more in tune with nature. The way society is going you never know if we are going to blow ourselves up or something. Or, if we are going to pollute ourselves out of existence. (Shirley Maxey, first grade)

> Well, the way things are going, it's hard to say. You know, there are no jobs anyway so I don't know what their futures are going to be. I think a lot of them are pretty bright. I don't know. How many doctors, how many teachers can you need? (Eugenia Nevels, first grade)

No clear expectations for the student body as a whole emerged from the interviews. In greater or lesser detail, the teachers communicated a mixed future: some would do well, others would not.

> Some have the potential for being doctors and teachers, and then there are some, you know, who will never amount to anything really great. As long as they are happy and can read and are happy with their lives, that's alright, too. (Eugenia Nevels, first grade)

> Most, I think, will do well. There's a few that I am afraid for. I can see the beginnings of trouble, things like shoplifting, lying to parents, lying to teachers. They are kind of spinning a pretty tight web around themselves. That kind of scares me. (Jack Olano, fourth grade)

> That's a most difficult question. I would say this area is definitely a middle class area, although we have a good, healthy mixture. I would say that of the 25 students I have, roughly all 25 will go on to high school. From high school, I would say that least half will go on to college. From there I would say they'll be going into white collar jobs, the blue collar jobs and we'll have a few who will be going into the . . . what's the word? . . . the trades. Probably a handful will be going into the trades. I think all of the, I *know* all of them will finish high school. I hope I'm not being overly optimistic. I don't think I am. (Steve Goodwin, sixth grade)

Two teachers were more direct:

> Glowing. I have a class this year that's just fantastic and I see a really glowing future for all of them. They all seem to really adjust well to school and they're all happy and I just see great things from them in school. They don't fight, they rarely cry, they're just happy. (Sallie Kammon, kingergarten)

> I don't know. This group is really immature in a lot of ways. They're really lazy. So far as what they're going to do: as little as possible with their life unless something drastically changes and I don't know where it will come from. (John Hammond, fifth grade)

The analysis of these responses is as difficult for us as it was apparently difficult for the teachers to answer the question. Some assessed their students' future in terms of environmental uncertainty; others in terms of the student's personal characteristics. Success or failure was discussed in terms of school achievement, job status, and personal satisfaction. One saw a bright future for all her students; another saw a difficult, if not grim, future for all her students. It is difficult, therefore, to make a generalization. It appears that teachers view Aldertree as an average or middle range school. No striking problems or prospects were mentioned; no distinctive "school character" was articulated. This sense was expressed most succinctly by Marge Friel, a kindergarten teacher: "What kind of a future? I think they'll just be a smattering of all varieties. Average children."

Conceptions about educational and occupational goals are not generated in a vacuum. The hopes for the future are shaped by events in the past. To provide us with a more concrete (we hoped) sense of teachers' views, we asked them to tell us about what a good day is like for them and to recount instances that were sources of both pride and shame.

Aldertree teachers tended not to cite unique or individual instances of success. Occasions for feeling proud centered on unspectacular, repeatable situations:

> A good day for me is when things go smoothly. . . . The plans I've made were successful. I feel proud when I try a new activity and it works. Anytime I try a new activity and it's successful, I'm proud of that. It worked! (Marge Friel, kindergarten)

> I think everyday this year has been a really good day. In kindergarten, you can have really good and really bad days because sometimes the kids are really flaky and they don't want to listen and they don't want to cooperate. They are unhappy and they want to know when it is time to go home an hour before it's time to leave. In first grade, they're really excited all the time. They make me feel good about what I do everyday practically. (Eugenia Nevels, first grade)

> A good day is when everything just clicks and everyone has tried really hard all day. (Jack Olano, fourth grade)

> I guess it's that the kids are basically in control of themselves and they you can joke around with them and they don't go haywire on you. You can joke and they get back to work. They settle down. That's when I enjoy the class the most, and we can have light conversations about things. Get off on tangents that may be funny or humorous to some and be able to get right back on track and get back to where we were without a big commotion. (Joan Hammond, fifth grade)

> To be honest, I have good days everyday. (Miriam Randolph, vocal specialist)

Other teacher mentioned occasions that occurred less frequently:

> I was all uptight because I didn't know any "little kid" songs. My partner knew every song that had ever been written for five-year-olds. I always had to copy her. So one day, I remembered a song and I taught it to the kids and they just loved it. Almost as well as any song they'd ever been taught. That was my big break. I knew I could handle it. (Sallie Kammon, kindergarten)

> I think the thing I'm proudest of was when a group of three teachers and myself took a group of fifth graders to Washington, D.C. We did it strictly on our own. The district would not give us support at all. Putting the whole thing together was a year long project. We started making our plans in July or August. We went in April of that school year. (Jack Olano, fourth grade)

> I could give one example and it might seem at first to be a negative example, but it isn't. Paul was a student in my class subject to bizarre behavior at times. We were talking one day, and he literally threw a temper tantrum making the situation quite unpleasant. And we talked for, I would imagine, forty minutes. When we finished, I felt that he understood more about himself and was able to cope with himself a little bit better. So, the feeling I had when the conversation was complete was that he had understood almost all of what I had said and that it seemed as though he was going to act upon that. (Steve Goodwin, sixth grade)

> I struggled here getting them to know the songs (for a program). They met once a week and then I wouldn't see them for a month because of field trips or I'm doing a program someplace...and at the end we had to work really hard for it. We got it all together and after the performance the kids were just really high. They knew they'd done a good job. I didn't have the time and energy after that to give them a party so they decided to give me a party. It was a surprise party that everybody knew about and I knew about. I think it shows, you know, that they really cared about what they had done. They felt so good and they realized that it came from working with me. (Miriam Randolph, vocal music)

Embedded in these descriptions of good days and proud moments is a theme of personal recognition. Occasions for pride occur when teachers perceive that students are happy about something they have done and when the students attribute their good feelings to actions of the teachers. While teachers discussed their goals in terms of how students feel about themselves or how they treat others, the indices of success and sources of pride for these teachers lie in the fruits of their labor being connected back to their own deeds.

If teachers open themselves to being perceived responsible for positive contributions, they also risk exposing weaknesses. Virtually all the teachers cited others' recognition of their human frailties as sources of shame:

> Just yelling at kids. I know I will end up doing it eventually. Not only yelling but you get uptight about things and later on you think, "Gee, that wasn't really that important. Why did I do that to that kid?" (Eugenia Nevels, first grade)

> Just to lose your temper with a kid. A student I had last year--I never wanted to do this--but, to get into back and forth talking to him. I haven't had a kid like him in four or five years where you just can't keep quiet and you want to bite your tongue afterwards for giving in to him. (Jack Olano, fourth grade)

> Well, there's one boy this year that I just threw up my hands and said, "There's no way I can help him." In a way I regret it, but in another way I couldn't really help him. It's hard to divorce your personality from the students. He just irritates me to no end. There is really no way I can get around it because I just do not like him. Unprofessional, but...(Joan Hammond, fifth grade)

> I have shown my feelings: that I am very disappointed and disgusted with what some of their actions are and these are the ones I really regret afterwards. You just can't do that in speech class, but I have done it on occasion and I feel bad and usually they are kids who have had a bad start for their day, too. I figure, "Gee, I'm older than they are. I ought to cope better." (Thelma Sprague, speech teacher)

A tension between being 'adult,' 'professional,' 'in control' which are low affect states and stimulating high affect - excitement, happiness, love and appreciation in children exists among the teachers at Aldertree. On the one hand, their rewards are apparently highly connected to producing peak feelings among students and on the other, avoiding displays of negative personal feelings. They clearly sense the inevitability of

personality conflicts--moments when they will be angry with students--but it still engenders regret.

The goals and intentions of Aldertree teachers are striking in more emphasis than in content. Students of educational settings are well aware of the uncertainties of the teaching profession and general lack of clarity in the technical core of teaching-learning activities of schools. At Aldertree there was very little mention of the cognitive domain of schooling which is interesting in light of the formal *raison d'etre* of teachers. It is not appropriate to conclude, however, that cognitive competence is not of interest to the Aldertree staff. Our field notes of classroom processes belie such a conclusion. Rather, teachers chose to focus on the non-curricular aspects of their work in the interviews; those things above and beyond the call of duty, so to speak. Given the school's elevated level of achievement *vis a vis* other schools, it is quite likely that developing cognitive competence is not problematic, whereas managing an interethnic, urban school population is almost always problematic.

Role Conceptions: defining the teacher's place

Teacher's goals discussed in the previous section are referenced by the classroom. All teachers and specialists discussed what they try to achieve and gave instances of goal accomplishment and failure in terms of their relationships to students who are their primary clients. But teachers are embedded in a complex organizational structure that encompasses a number of important adults notably the principal, other teachers and parents. All teachers are administrative subordinates of

the principal who has ultimate responsibility for what happens at the school. Most teachers both receive and pass along students to their immediate colleague group. They also serve *in loco parentis* and thus are connected to an often widely divergent parent group. How do teachers perceive their role *vis a vis* other adults in the work setting?

Attention to the cognitive competence of students and formal curricular imperatives of schools--absent as teacher discussed goals--emerged in the portion of the interview devoted to role conceptions. Several talked about "carrying out a good, successful program," "progressing the children through the curriculum," "making sure they learn what they're supposed to," and "covering all the material." The shift in perspective from personal goals to responsibilities to colleagues elicited mention of overt, measurable, easily observable criteria. This is plausible given evidence for goal attainment in the affective domain is seldom available to classroom outsiders. It may also be an admission that despite allegiance to larger moral and humanistic values the "real" role of educators is to promote knowledge.

A second theme permeating teachers statements is social control. Teachers have no choice about control. As the principal is responsible for events in the school, teachers are responsible for activities in the classroom. The assignment of a single teacher to 25 - 30 students creates a condition of incipient chaos; quite literally, the calm of a smoothly running classroom can at any point break into confusion. Should this happen, it would be obvious to one's colleagues or, at least, one's next door neighbors. Control (or lack of it) then, is a relatively public indicator of teacher competence and one to which they are required

to attend. We asked teachers to tell us about their responsibilities to the principal:

> I guess not letting the roof cave in. To establish some sort of order. Yeah, to maintain order. To make sure the class functions. (Sallie Kammon, kindergarten)

> I think I should teach my class not only to know what the school rules are but to follow them as well and to prepare them for their future teachers. (Jack Olano, fourth grade)

> To him? Keeping the kids well behaved. Making sure that they learn what they're supposed to and to teach them to behave properly so he's not swarmed with uncontrollables. (Joan Hammond, fifth grade)

> I feel it is also very important as part of their learning that there be discipline. I believe that there is discipline in life early enough and they might as well get used to it right now. I feel that's something I owe the principal: to keep a contained classroom and to keep it well managed. (Beverly Zimmerman, fifth grade)

A third and final theme related by teachers deals with the need to present a united front as leaders of the school:

> To back him (the principal) up on certain things because he'll stick his neck out for you. I think it's important that when he sets up a policy, a lot of people talk about it so when parents come in, we'll agree. To respect the rights of teachers and not to repeat what goes on here. I find the aides talk too much about what goes on. I feel I should defend these teachers when I hear something negative. (Eugenia Nevels, first grade)

The theme of cognitive development was reiterated as a priority with respect to parents:

> All parents want their children to learn. They're very concerned with this. And they want their children to be treated kindly and I think most teachers do this. (Sallie Kammon, kindergarten)

> To get as much knowledge into those kids at possible in the limited amount of time we have with them and to kind

> of guide them in social development, too. (Jack Olano, fourth grade)

> To the parents? I guess basically to educate their kids. And to do it without a lot of their help. (Joan Hammond, fifth grade)

> They put their child in my hands for a year. I feel its my job to take them along academically to where they are and as far as I can push them in one year. (Beverly Zimmerman, fifth grade)

Fewer teachers articulated a second responsibility to parents:

> Well, I think you're pretty responsible to them to let them know what's happening. Where their children are at. Some people just totally ignore hung-up children and don't want to deal with it. I found that a couple of years ago I did that and it was a mistake. (Eugenia Nevels, first grade)

> The best I can, I try to keep the parents informed; mainly through grades, but if there's a real problem, I'll make phone calls and this sort of thing. (Mark O'Dell, instrumental music)

The task of communicating with parents is eased for Aldertree teachers by a policy of bi-annual teacher-parent conferences. Virtually every teacher communicates with a legal guardian of every student during these periods. On occasion, parents are unable to come to the school so teachers either make home visits or telephone the parents. The parents are further informed of the school's activities through a fall "Back to School" night, a Christmas program and "Multi-cultural" night in the spring. To the outside observer, these occasions are remarkable for the extraordinarily high attendance level of the parents. Usually 80 - 90% of the students are represented by parents or guardians on these occasions.

To conclude: we found that teachers' role conceptions with respect

to their colleagues and principal and the parents of their students focuses strongly on the more visible aspects of the work setting: student achievement and social order. There was a nod to the need to maintain a professional front against parents and teachers yet promote ties of understanding with parents. These expressed sentiments contrast sharply with teachers' personal elaboration of their goals. The latter center strongly on psycho-social or affective development, characteristics that are not readily evident beyond the classroom walls.

Black, White and Brown: views on a multi-ethnic setting

One characteristic all complex societies share is a propensity toward social distinctions. One distinction permeating American society is the concept of race or ethnicity: the belief in or recognition of distinctive human groups on the basis of physical characteristics, linguistic variations, religious heritage or other criteria denoting common origins. Ethnic identity can be a useful source of solidarity in hostile environments, can provide continuity in rapidly changing societies and can serve as a basis for combatting unequal social and political treatment. The boundaries implied by ethnic identity can restrict participation in the social, political and economic structure of a society if one belongs to a minority either numerically or in terms of power. If ethnic identity and its accompanying restrictions is voluntary as is the case of many religious groups, limited participation is problematic insofar as dominant groups attempt to mandate participation as has happened with the Amish and education and Christian Scientists and medicine. If ethnic identification is imposed or is defined inferior to ruling groups

as is historically true of the chicanos and blacks in the United States, then the pitfalls are the reverse: ethnic identity is used to obstruct participation and limit opportunities by the dominant groups.

We discuss elsewhere the distribution of students by ethnicity in the academic and social structure of Aldertree. Here we will present teachers' views of the problems and prospects of working in a multiethnic school. The teachers were asked, "As you know, Aldertree's students represent several ethnic backgrounds. Do you see any special problems related to this? Do you see any advantages?" The phrasing of the question assumes at least two things: 1) that ethnic identities are salient social categories, and 2) that they may be problematic. The question is also direct and thus loaded toward evoking normative responses and abstract inducing general statements. These latter characteristics limit the analytical value of the responses. This is unfortunate but not a weakness we were unaware of at the time. The phrasing speaks to our decisions to err on the side of caution and maintain rapport with the site rather than boldly pursue our inquiry and possibly alienate our informants.

Overall, the teachers accepted the legitimacy of ethnic categories. In response to the last half of the question, they noted the advantages of multi-ethnic school populations (emphasis ours):

> I think it's important for them to be able to go to school together and grow up together because they're going to live together as adults. They should be aware *of each other's cultures* and everything.
>
> I think it's important for the children to see *all sides of life* and they should see how *blacks and whites live*.
>
> The fact that my kids relate to *so many different ethnic*

> *groups*, they have a much better understanding; a better ability to relate to *different kinds of people* than I ever did as a child.
>
> It's good for them to know there are *other ethnic groups* and to be closely associated with them. It makes them less sterile, makes them more *broadminded towards others*.

Respondents seemed to carefully avoid any value judgments related to different groups. That differences existed was as far as they would go. One teacher who is also the parent of two children at Aldertree did venture to elaborate some differences but followed this statement with a kind of assurance that would neutralize negative implications:

> Whether you like it or not, people who are black come from a different background in many cases. Education, culture even language is different. The same with a chicano background and an Oriental back-round. They *are* different. Their speech patterns are different. I think my children--I've really seldom heard my kids refer to somebody--I've *never* heard either of them refer to somebody in a derogatory way because of their race; accept or reject somebody because of their race. I think this is really good.

Teachers agreed that although there were instances of conflict involving children of different ethnic backgorunds and, on occasion, name-calling on the school yard, they strongly denied ethnicity as a catalyst for conflicts. The following excerpts illustrate this tendancy (emphasis mine):

> There's a little Mexican boy that is very hostile to a little black girl, and I feel *it's from the home*.
>
> He's not that way with other black children; there's just a *personality clash*.
>
> I had one black boy who created quite a problem for me, but we were able to handle it. He had such a temper that he *could not contain himself*. When he gets mad, *he goes crazy*.

> Sometimes you may get a little group of kids of one race picking on others, but you can usually talk them out of it and why they shouldn't be doing it...maybe they've *heard somebody bigger do it or older kids.*

> If it turns out to be more than one race involved, I don't think it's racial. I think it just happens to be the group of kids that was fighting at the time, and it's just by coincidence. *They all hang around together so naturally if there's going to be a fight, it's going to be a fight interacially.*

With the exception of the last statement, teachers attributed the cause of interethnic conflicts to personal characteristics of the child, home influences or role modeling of older and bigger students. The last explanation attributes the source to the sociometric configuration of students groups: they are interethnic and so all contacts will tend to be interethnic. These largely individual and psychologically oriented explanations contrast with more sociological explanations of interethnic harmony noted by teachers.

> *I think the economic factor of the family, their income affects their attitude and what they value and what they don't.* I don't think that has any racial lines in it at all.

> It seems that most of the kids here, regardless of (ethnic) background are middle-class and, to me, *that's the big common denominator.* The kids learn to live with each other and respect one another regardless of what they may look like.

> What I have seen is that kids are kids, so I don't think that's an advantage to have a black with a white or a Mexican or something. It just seems like they get along and they're friends...that's the attitude of the kids maybe because *they're used to being around black and Mexican and white kids mixed.*

> Nine times out of ten, *they wouldn't be allowed to do this at home.* But they're not at home so they try to get away with it.

Teachers' explanations for interethnic comaraderie stressed the similarity in economic status across ethnic groups and early and continuous cross-group contact. Several insisted that children at Aldertree were essentially isolated from the larger reality of racial prejudice. Since they had never been exposed to it, "racial" categories were meaningless. This is probably not the case. Aldertree students have access to television which, at the very least, informs them of the social importance of ethnic categories. Class homogeneity and intergroup contact supported by norms of more or less equal status are more plausible explanations.

Summary and Conclusions

We have attempted in this section to examine teacher's perceptions of various aspects of their chosen career and work setting. We discovered three inducements to teaching: a desire to work with people as opposed to things or ideas; a desire to serve a useful purpose; and, monetary rewards in exchange for minimum levels of preparation. Teachers talked about their personal aims in the classroom in terms of affective goals: to promote high self-regard among students and sensitivity to the needs of their immediate social group. When viewed from the perspective of what their colleagues, superiors and parents looked for to assess their competence, the emphasis shifted to the more traditional and legitimate role definition of teachers, that is, the extend to which they are able to instill knowledge, maintain social order and meet organizational demands of their position. Finally, we considered their views on working in a multi-ethnic setting.

It has been said that teaching is laden with paradoxical claims and

is fraught with tensions. Aldertree is no exception. The clearest instance of this is evident in the distinction between what teachers personally define as important for their students and what they think others view important. They were not pushed nor did they probably mean to imply that these conceptions were mutually exclusive; yet, the consistency with which they responded in these two areas is striking. The second general observation of interest to this study concerns their views on working in an interethnic setting. Teachers noted--accurately--that interethnic conflict is minimal at Aldertree. A vocal few were willing, to go further and assert that ethnicity has no salience whatsoever in the school. This is simply not the case. Potential conflict is, rather, kept at bay through two means: 1) emphasis on panhumanic characteristics and, 2) locating the source of the problem in non-ethnic terms usually along class or personality type dimensions. Finally, we suspect that the degree of consensus among teachers in the school as a whole and, particularly, within grade groups is probably a function of the opportunities for contact at Aldertree. Teachers can and do meet in the faculty lounge before and after school and during recess and lunch breaks during school.

V

PRINCIPAL-TEACHER RELATIONS AT ALDERTREE

There is a striking distinction between teachers' descriptions of what they attempt to accomplish in the classroom and the criteria they perceive salient to administrators and parents. As we have seen in the previous section, teachers at Aldertree talk almost exclusively in social psychological terms about their aims, intentions and rewards in the classroom; yet, when they are asked to elaborate upon their responsibilities and the criteria by which the prinicpal views them their comments take on the flavor of "job descriptions" as they emphasize curricular goals, behavioral control of the students and the various legal aspects of the teaching role.

This finding provides empirical support for Meyer's conception of schools as examples of organizations in which management is only "loosely coupled" with the technical core or, in other words, administrative processes are but weakly associated with teaching-learning processes. Lortie has described this relationship as a consequence of an exchange: "the principal gives the teacher the classroom and in return the teacher gives the prinicpal the school" (in Shimahara and Scrupski:1975:238).

This bifurcation of the "classroom" and the "school" has implications for the patterns of relations between teachers and principals. Goodenough (1971) has suggested that it is beneficial for those who deal with one another regularly to be competent in what they perceive to be an equivalent set of standards. These mutually shared standards become for the participants the *public culture* for those activities. As participants

develop an understanding of the public culture of the group, they are able to predict the behaviors of others and behave predictably to them. This does not mean that specific behaviors are predicted; rather, some circumscribed *range* of appropriate behaviors may be anticipated. Extending this idea to the school setting, we would expect that not only would teachers and the principal develop patterned ways of relating but that they would develop at least two ways of relating depending on the definition of the activity. That is, in matters specifically related to the "school" (budget, broad curricular goals, school-based norms for student behavior, etc.) the public culture would be different than in activities relating to the "classroom" (teaching style, curricular pacing, use of space, disciplinary strategies and so on). Where the distinction between the school and the classroom is unclear a third public culture may operate. This brief exposition will address three patterns identified in the course of this study at Aldertree School.

The public culture of school activities. School activities at Aldertree include personnel decisions, handling of parental and student complaints, scheduling of classes, assignment of students to teachers and teachers to grade levels and classrooms, allocation of available monies and supplies to teachers, matters of student discipline that originate outside the classroom and scheduling of meetings and extracurricular activities. Decisions relating to these activities tend to be based on explicit and public standards of procedure and are seldom negotiated. For example, students are assigned to teachers in a manner that satisfies a balance of ethnic representation, gender and ability level in each classroom. The initial assignment is accepted by teachers and, for the

most part, the assignments remain stable throughout the year. In the first few weeks of school, however, student or (more likely) parental complaints may lead to the reassignment of certain pupils to other teachers. In these instances, the advisability of reassignment is negotiated with the relevant teachers. Similarly, the allocation of monies and materials is guided by a standard--in this case, a standard of equity. Resources are evenly divided among available teachers. Changes in grade level of reassignment to other schools is also based on a predetermined set of rules: seniority.

These school-based issues are handled primarily through the avenue of faculty meetings. They are communicated in the form of announcements that have been noted on the agenda. The principal assumes the function of a sort of conduit through which state, district and school policies and directives are activated. The teacher-principal relationship is classically bureaucratic with the principal subordinate to the central office and superordinate to the teachers. Communication is clear, rational and explicit and the meanings of interchanges are readily available to the outside observer.

The public culture of classroom activities. Ask a sample of newly appointed teachers about their teacher education programs and they are likely to respond, "It didn't prepare me for this!" Probe further and you will learn that courses were too simplistic, theoretically fanciful or even boring but in a few cases will you discover they were "relevant" or "real." Admittedly, muddleheaded incompetents have on occasion penetrated our much maligned schools of education but this is not the cause of much of the neophyte teacher's grief. What is not and,

perhaps, cannot be revealed to the teacher-in-training are the complex, often subtle rules that govern relations among teachers and principals on matters relating to the classroom.

Throughout the two years we spent at Aldertree we rarely heard Mr. Egan, the principal, issue a direct recommendation to a teacher. If he were to say, "Ms. Jones, your class is disorderly, I want you to take steps to correct the conduct of your students," she would be surprised indeed. Yet, Mr. Egan does discover problems and makes recommendations to his teachers and we have observed that they adjust their behavior (for the most part) accordingly. How is this accomplished?

Mr. Egan's aim is to lead by initiating suggestions and making recommendations while appearing to be an almost disinterested observer. His comments to teachers are syntactically gentle, almost always casual. He "brings things to the attention" of teachers that--on the face of it--are but mild and even tentative acknowledgements. The ideal situation is one in which he is able to make a recommendation appear to be initiated by someone else preferably the teachers.

This stance demands considerable sensitivity on the part of teachers. They must recognize the import of apparently innocuous or inscrutable remarks by noticing and decoding postural shifts, verbal pauses and changes in voice tone. In short, they must learn how to "read" the principal. The rewards for correctly interpreting principal talk are several: the teacher gains a reputation as a fine instructor, is strongly or more agressively supported when conflicts with parents or students arise, is appointed to committees of some import in the school and are more readily granted leaves or excused early for personal reasons.

The penalties for failing to correctly interpret can be severe. The doltish teacher who goes his or her own way despite the principal's "recommendations" will be encouraged to seek a transfer to a more amenable school and in some cases be encouraged to consider a career in shoe sales or aluminum siding.

The discovery of this principal-teacher "game" at Aldertree School began as a puzzle. There appeared to be a rather clear disjunction between Mr. Egan's private assertions to members of the research team and his public behavior. Privately he spoke in clear, articulate, powerful even visionary terms about his school, the staff, and students. Publicly, we observed an unprepossessing man who would wander onto the playground at lunch or recess where he would hug and good-naturedly tease students, who would occasionally join teachers in the faculty lounge for some light banter or drift into classrooms spontaneously but always unobtrusively. Assuming that these two faces belonged to the same man how might they be reconciled?

A specific but not a typical instance will illustrate the relationship. In the first few weeks of the study, Mr. Egan several times stressed to us his dissatisfaction with how children distributed themselves on the playgrounds. If there were two drinking fountains one would be used exclusively by boys; the other by the girls. If there were four tetherball stanchions two were claimed by girls, the other two by boys. If students lined up to pass between the classroom and the playground, boys would be found in one and girls in the other. Having listened on several occasions to Mr. Egan's disapproval of these patterns I rather expected the issue would be addressed sometimes soon probably at a faculty meeting.

The first year elapsed with no mention of this issue as far as we could observe. The salience of gender on the playground remained strong and the conundrum grew.

Then I received the agenda for the first faculty meeting of our second year at Aldertree. The agenda was divided into three parts: constituting the membership of standing school committees, negotiating school routines, and informing the faculty of district, state and federal guidelines. The latter category included an extended discussion of a state-sponsored survey legislated to insure compliance in certain areas in return for the receipt of state monies. Specifically, item 18 referred to Title IX, a federal guideline addressing discrimination on the basis of gender. Finally, I thought, Mr. Egan will communicate his dissatisfaction to the teachers. Here is my record of that discussion:

Mr. Egan: According to the survey, I need to explain the federal regulations to the staff. When I came to this section (of the survey) I had to say, "No." I was supposed to do this last March 15.

The teachers laugh quietly - standing behind the checkout counter in the library, he leans forward on his elbows, picks up a document and rapidly reads the Title IX guideline. Putting aside the document, he leans forward further and looks out toward the teachers:

Mr. Egan: Have you noticed that boys use one drinking fountain and all the girls use the other?

There is an immediate and vociferous reaction from the teachers. The predominant response is, "They did it themselves!" In a few seconds it is quiet again and one teacher takes the floor:

Ms. Quinn: If they line up by 'boys' and 'girls' on their own, isn't that okay?

Mr. Egan: You may tolerate; don't encourage.

This brief and--on the principal's part--dispassionate interchange does not outwardly portend significant change and we noted such in our on-going summary account:

> We've finally observed an encounter between the principal and teachers that dealt with sexism or the tendancy of students to restrict many of their activities to territories that belong to one or the other sex. Based on Mr. Egan's private remarks we rather thought this would be a big discussion but it wasn't. We are left with the impression that he doesn't think it's all that important and that the teachers will not behave any differently on this matter.

We were intrigued, therefore, to notice a change on the first day the students returned to school. Ms. Friel a vetran and well-respected Aldertree teacher and Ms. Thomas a brand new "long term substitute" teacher both consciously lined their students up *without* respect for gender when passing from the classroom to the outside and back again. This was accomplished by gently guiding approaching students to one line or another. Within two weeks, approximately half the teachers had desegregated their double lines and by the end of September there were only two holdouts.

The above is an example of a successfully concluded imperative of the principal. A general problem (sexism) was identified, a specific instance (drinking fountain use) mentioned and adaptation (desegregated lines) accomplished. The principal was able to present the issue as originating outside his own self--framed inicatively not dictatorily or bureaucratically. Significanlty the "old hand" and a newcomer were the first to act on Mr. Egan's prescription: the old hand because she not only correctly read Mr. Egan's intention but understood her position as informal leader and model for other teachers; the newcomer because she

was perceptive enough to accurately decode his message or--equally likely--because she had not learned to do it otherwise. Ms. Friel carried the issue further by desegregating the two stalls in the small bathroom in her classroom. We learned of this change the same way other teachers did: she told amusing stories about teaching the small boys how to use the toilets so they would not soil the seat covers. Her humorous anecdotes served to inform her colleagues about the implicit meaning of Mr. Egan's message and that they, in turn, should adapt their procedures.

Mr. Egan's influence in effecting the change described above derives in part from his position as organizational leader of the school. We would not expect a teacher to have the same effect had the issue been raised from the floor of the meeting. If this were all, however, there would be no instances of "weak" or "ineffective" principals. A principal's strength is grounded in his or her legitimacy socially as well as structurally. That is, principals are legitimate to the extent they conform to their staff's conception of what a principal should be like--a conception the principal, in turn, can help define.

As a smallish neighborhood school in a small school district, Aldertrees boundaries are easily permeated by parents and the central office. As a school serving an ethnically integrated residential community, all ethnic groups have equal access to the school. In fact, Aldertree is marked by a rather high level of penetration by the "outside" world: angry parents can move swiftly and easily to confrontations with teachers, and district personnel, particularly the superintendent, drop by periodically. In addition, of course, Aldertree employs parents on a regular basis as instructional aides, playground aides and one or two at a time

as coaches for soccer and basketball teams. The aloofness and anonymity that characterize some principals in large districts is not practical options for Mr. Egan as principal of Aldertree. In a very real sense, he is forced daily to interact with often competing forces.

Mr. Egan's approach to the realities of Aldertree politics is dominated by preventative as opposed to reactive measures. Mr. Egan spends approximately 40% of his time somewhere other than on the school grounds. During this time he may be involved in contract negotiations with teachers as a representative of administrators, at the central office or in student's homes. What is important about his time spent away from Aldertree is that much of it is initiated by Mr. Egan to *maintain* relationships rather than salvage threatened ones. Within the school, another 40% of his time is spent outside his office: in classrooms where he visits informally and occasionally substitutes for absent teachers, on the playground with students or the custodian, in the main office or, less frequently, in the faculty lounge. These activities enable him to gather a rather astonishing amount of information about what is happening both within and without the school and this knowledge is power.

Mr. Egan's anecdotes and observations to teachers are not speculative or theoretical; they carry the weight of empirical experience. His remark about the drinking fountains was neither idle nor conjecture; it was direct account based on several observations of the playground. The apparently casual remark, then, is seldom perceived by experiences teachers as casual and this is one of the early lessons to be learned by teachers new to Aldertree.

While a firm knowledge of the school and its environment nurtures the principal's legitimacy, it doesn't necessarily imply an indicatory mode of relating to the teachers. To account for this style we must examine the teachers as a distinct force in the school.

Teachers in the Bay Area as in many (but not all) parts of the country have experienced an increased sense of autonomy as a profession. In Santa Clara County they have won the right to binding arbitration in contract disputes, belong to strong teacher associations that do not hesitate to strike under certain conditons, are supported by established grievance procedures and have become a significant and relatively united force in the larger political scheme. This growing sense of identity in conjunction with the characteristic loose coupling of the teaching-learning process from the larger school structure strengthens the teachers' resistence to direct, authoritarian intervention by the principal in their day-to-day affairs. Mr. Egan is allowed to run the school and in return he gives the teachers the classroom. Points of articulation between the school and the classroom are negotiated.

Much of the literature conveys an impression that schools are immutable entities to which students must accommodate themselves as painlessly as possible. This is particularly evident among the revisionist historians who insist on using contemporary concepts and social constructs to interpret previously existing systems and survey researchers who abstract characteristics and collapse their data over hundreds of settings. This is not to argue that the bulk of educational research is without value; rather to point up at least one shortcoming. That is, these methodologies are not sensitive to the fluidity that does characterize

social institutions. Even two years is a short time to capture the cynamics of change, yet the issue from our perspective is not debatable. With the exception of dramatic crises (the instance most likely to be approached in case study form or ethnographically) change is incremental and measured, yet inarguably present. Mr. Egan's judiciously timed and laconic remark about the drinking fountains does not indicate sweeping reform. It is a small event that along with many other equally small events form an accretion toward change and adaptation.

The public culture of school-classroom activities. There is a category of teacher-principal interactions that does not fit clearly as either an issue of management or technology. The decision to implement the Early Childhood Education (ECE) program is one instance. To the extent that this program involves the hiring of personnel, the receipt of funds for materials, and school-wide in-service training, it would appear to be a matter appropriately handled by the principal. Yet, participation in the program would substantially affect the classroom and the teaching and learning that went on in it. Most significantly, the program required the hiring of instructional aides for grades kindergarten through three for one-half day each day and demanded significant paper work from teachers who were involved. In these respects it became a classroom issue. Since the decision to participate or not rested with the school, this issue presented the principal with an interesting dilemma: should he unilaterally decide Aldertree would become an ECE school or should he let the teachers decide? If he decided unilaterally he risked incurring the enmity of teachers who opposed it; if he left it to the teachers he risked their turning it down to the detriment (he felt) of the school as a whole.

His strategy was two-fold. At one level he made known his approval of the program by recruiting a small number of teachers and parents to formulate the proposal to participate (including the "old hand" mentioned earlier). At the same time, he presented the issue as a clear option the teachers could veto should the proposal be accepted. In the time elapsing between the preparation of the proposal and the faculty vote he hoped the teachers would wish to participate. He combined, therefore, both the bureaucratic and indicatory strategies described above on the matter. Unfortunately for him, the teachers were not sufficiently persuaded by the time the vote came and they vetoed the resolution. Stuck between a rock and a hard place for the first and only time during the two years we spent at Aldertree, he overrode the teachers' decision. He spent considerable time in the following months overseeing the progress of the program and emphasizing the positive aspects of it. The conclusion was a happy one in that teachers' fears about the intrusion of instructional aides quickly melted and the additional paperwork became somewhat less problematic than expected. Nevertheless, some teachers resented the less than straightforward presentation of the "option."

Another issue that overlaps the distinction between school and classroom is parental involvement. Parents who complain to Mr. Egan about a perceived injustice are usually complaining about something that has happened in the classroom. The parental complaint, thus, embraces both worlds. Again, he is faced with a dilemma: should he consistently support teachers defending them against "outside" forces or accept parental complaints as legitimate and risk damaging

the morale of the teachers? Mr. Egan's approach to the phenomenon of the "complaining parent" is to try to do both. His conscious and explicit strategy is to reflectively listen for "at least twenty minutes" to the parent. He does not defend, agree, or otherwise direct the communication. When the parent has unloaded the grievance then in the words of Mr. Egan, "we can get down to the real issue." By "real" issue is meant some framing of the problem that is not colored by emotions of the moment. When the problem is so framed, then a conference involving the parent, the teacher and Mr. Egan is called. Problems are not always resolved. The student may be transfered to another classroom or even another school. The importance of the listening is that Mr. Egan thereby respects the integrity of the parent and his or her complaint. When the emotion is spent the problem can be more rationally approached and solutions considered.

As is evident in this section, the negotiations of the principal are complex and require a wide repertoire of strategies. To date their has been little observational data collected on the principal as he or she carries out the activities of everyday life; however, if I may be permitted to speculate, I would suggest that the difference between what we have come to know as "weak" and "effective" principals may lie in the extent to which they can employ a variety of public faces appropriately assessing the contexts they are in. No single public culture will suffice.

VI

ON BECOMING A STUDENT

> We know from personal experiences if we recall our school days, the importance which a difference of a few years had in our childhood and youth. We know how we set our school mates' ages against the average of our class, which was our only standard of comparison; our understanding of childhood or youth or adolescence depended on an academic hierarchy, first a succession of classes, then the passage from secondary to higher education.
>
> --Phillipe Ariès, Centuries of Childhood

All societies instruct their young in cultural survival. The qualities considered adaptive to the society are defined and arrangements are made to develop these qualities in children. This process of socialization begins in the home and in technologically advanced cultures is later shared with the schools. Although the aims of both the family and the school are broadly similar--to promote behaviors and principles appropriate to adulthood--the settings are quite different. Since the purpose of this study is to examine the process of schooling, it is useful to consider some social properties of the school.

On the first day of kindergarten children become students. They begin to acquire different standards for behavior; standards not crucial to family life but instrumental to being a student. Three of these will be discussed here: universalism, independence and achievement. We will trace the development of these norms in kindergarten and third and fifth grades.

Universalism

For many children, school represents the first opportunity to be considered as member of a category rather than as special and unique individuals. When membership in a category determines the nature of interactions, universalistic standards are being applied, (Dreeben, 1968). In this sense, the roles of child-in-the-family and stucent-in-the-classroom are not analogous.

Modern western conceptions of children and the family contrast sharply with medieval ideas and practices. During the Middle Ages, children typically left home sometime around the age of seven to take apprenticeships in other households. Parents tried to place the children in homes of greater refinement than their own in the hope the children would acquire better manners than they could otherwise. Apprenticeships lasted for another seven to nine years during which time children mingled heavily with the adult world. They served adults and through observation and practice acquired skills and attitudes needed to survive as adults. Beginning in the fifteenth century the idea of the family began to change (Ariès: 1965). Beliefs about the negative influence of prolonged association with adults emerged as well as the beginnings of a desire by parents to nurture their own children for longer periods. As the notion of isolating children from corrupting influences gained favor, schools where they were formally set apart from adults and intentionally protected from the vulgarities of adulthood replaced the system of apprenticeships. The fully integrated child-adult world began to cleave as children took up residence with other children or attended day schools for purposes of moral and intellectual instruction. Later, in the eighteenth century,

customs of primogeniture established to protect the unity of estates began to deteriorate in favor of equal treatment of all one's children. An accompanying shift in the relationship of the family to the larger society occurred as families gradually and surely extended the sphere of private life. The place of children as integral if immature family members survives today. Parents are obliged to socialize their children toward adulthood and are excoriated if they neglect this responsibility. Formal schooling is considered a source of secondary yet crucial socialization. Shielded from the crueler realities of the adult world, children attend school to learn what families in general are believed unequipped to provide.

The organic character of modern families where privileges and obligations are ideally meted out according to level of maturity and accomplishment in light of individual characteristics rather than explicity by birth order or special selection is opposed by the formal structure of schools where much larger groups of children are overtly treated as a category apart from the adults in the setting.

The transformation from daughter or son to student can be almost ceremonial:

> Mrs. Andrews, a kindergarten teacher, greets the mothers as they bring their children into the room the first day of school. The child is received with an embrace. The act of embracing becomes a fluid nudge as the child is physically drawn from the side of the parent and propelled to the center of the room. As the child and teacher reach their destination, a pegboard, the mothers leave the room. Name tags dangle on the pegboard. Each child is encouraged to find his or her own name, put the name tag on, select a book from a shelf and sit down on a green tile...within twenty minutes all of the children are tagged and have been allocated to a tile; the arrangement of children is a perfect circle.

This is a dramatic introduction to a role the children will hold for the extent of their school career. The children are, of course, all smaller than the adults in the room, but their similarity to one another is reinforced by the tags they are wearing, the books they are all examining and the physical arrangement of their bodies on the floor.

The first day of school for third graders has a different character from that of the kindergarteners. Third graders are entering their fourth year of schooling and are acquainted with the category to which they belong. At Aldertree, the primary (1 - 3) students share a playground. At 8:30 on the first day of school, each teacher assumed a position in front of her classroom door. The teacher on yard duty rang a bell to signal the opening of the school year. On cue, the children left the playground and headed for their classrooms. The entire primary group lined up appropriately; none of the children were left wandering even though 19 of the students were new to the school.

> Mrs. Quinn, a third grade teacher, instructed her new students to "line up; girls over here, boys here." She introduced herself to the students outside, then asked them to enter the room. The class headed to the desks and seated themselves this way:*
>
> B(b) B(c) B(c) B(b) G(w) G(b) G(b)
> G(w) B(w) G(c) G(w) G(w)
> G(w) G(w) G(w)
> B(c) B(w) G(b) B(w) B(w)
> B(w) B(b) B(w) B(w) B(w)
>
> The students chatted among themselves for a short while--until Mrs. Quinn began to take roll. She is being careful to pronounce the names correctly and asks each child if he or she prefers a nickname...when roll is completed, she

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* B = boy, G = girl; b = black, c = chicano, w = white

asks, "How many people are going to have lunch? If you want lunch, come up--one at a time--and sign your name on the board." As the students are writing their names on the board, Mrs. Quinn continues, "What time are you supposed to be here in the morning? Raise your hand if you know." "8:30 a.m." "Where do you line up?" "At the door." She asked for questions. One girl asks about when morning and afternoon reading schedules start. "We won't know for awhile yet." Mrs. Quinn explains where to put coats: girls' closets at the door, boys' the second one. "Put your name on your lunch bag." She explains where the yard toys are and how to check them out. All children are quiet, some are fidgeting. The teacher says, "Guy, (b) what is the first thing you do in the morning?" "Sign your name on the board if you want luhcn." "What's the second thing? Carl (w), can you tell me one rule?" No response. "I would like to see you learn all of the teachers' names. Try to do that. What do you do with snacks?" Children answer, "Eat them!" "You sit on the bench and don't get off until you finish," "Try to bring nutritious stuff and not candy." Mrs. Quinn explains they are welcome to play in the area right outside the class but are not to be in the other areas of the school. "If you think you're going home to lunch, have your mother write me a note. Maurice (b) [new student] do you have any questions? Do you understand everything?" "Yep." She continues, "Can you take five more minutes of me talking?" "Yes." "I'll explain about the room. Over there is the reading area. There is a pillow, and I'll bring another. Here are books I've brought, and I'll bring in 'Sports Illustrated' for the boys. These are yours to read. If you want to take them home, ask me and you can check them out. When you have free time, here's the record player, head sets, and records; crayons, paste, and scissors; two checker boards and a chess set. Whichever you know how to play you can take and retrun. All kinds of math flash cards, Spill and Spell, and puzzles are here. Everything's out. The rule is, if you don't return them or treat them right, I'll have to put them away. Paper is kept in the back cabinet. Pencils should be sharpened in the morning or before or after recess or before or after lunch. The calendar is in the front. Put dates on all your papers. Helper of the week: I'll put your name up when it's your turn." Children begin wiggling in their chairs. "The alphabet is above the front board weather map. The helper is to decide the weather for the day. Any questions? I have one rule about gum. I don't appreciate your chewing gum in class. This is the reason: it gets on the desks and on the rug. It makes a really ugly mess on the floor. If you want gum at recess, lunch or after school, you can have it, but throw it away after you come in. Is that ok? Can we agree on that?" "Yes."

Unlike the carefully clear statements of Mrs. Andrews, Mrs. Quinn's comments assume some shared understanding with the children. When she says, "How many people are going to have lunch?" she is not asking for an account of children who will be consuming food at noon. Rather, she is asking who wishes to buy a hot lunch from the vendor. She needs to know so that the secretary can call in the school's order. Her reference to snacks would be similarly mysterious to the uninitiated. The routine of a mid-morning snack begun in kindergarten is continued through the third grade. Instead of being supplied by the school, however, each child brings his own. Snacks are consumed at recess, thus the references to "benches" which are located on the periphery of the playground. The student responses indicate that they are clear about this custom.

These introductory remarks consumed twenty minutes. One is struck by the rapidity and extent of these initial remarks especially since they are targeted toward eight-year olds. At least sixteen separate issues are covered.

The clarity of the school routine is even more pronounced in the upper grades. Fourth, fifth and sixth grade children play in yet another area.

> At 8:15 the teacher on yard duty blows her whistle. The students leave their games and are running to the edge of the yard. Seven double columns of youths are formed; two lines for each classroom. Each teacher emerges from his or her classroom and walks to the head of the appropriate column. The columns are led by the teachers into their respective rooms.

This ritual was carried out entirely without adult instruction. No verbal directions were given concerning where or how to line-up. As among primary

students, children new to Aldertree were not left to their own. The new children were caught up in the rush to line up. They could determine where to go with two pieces of information: their teacher's name and their gender. The ritual of lining up and marching in was so well-known to the students and teachers that over two-hundred boisterous and energetic children were moved into the classroom in a matter of seconds.

Just as it took comparatively little time to physically move students into the classroom, Mr. Olano, a fifth grade teacher, quickly moved his class into an academic task. Upon entering the classroom, Mr. Olano initiated an opening ritual that continued for the entire year: roll call, lunch count, and the Pledge of Allegiance. This was followed by a brief introduction of himself and an explanation of his expectations: "There are two rules in this room: 1) use common sense and 2) use empathy. Empathy is thinking about how you would feel if *you* were treated that way. You know the rules about talking and disrupting the class." The opening rituals and Mr. Olano's introductory remarks took eighteen minutes.

> First day. 8:35. Mr. Olano is passsing out individualized contract reading progtams. He explains the point system for grades: "125 points gathered during the marking period equals an A; 95 equals B; 65 equals C." At this point, Mr. Olano is interrupted and leaves the classroom to go to the office. The students are extremely quiet. They all seem to be reading their contracts trying to work over it and understand the point set-up. There is really no talking. Two students have their heads down and two are looking around. They are still absolutely quiet in the classroom. At 8:40 the principal walks to the classroom to get a head count. The teacher is still outside. When he returns, he explains how they will accumulate the points: reading books, and activity workbooks, specific reading skills, SRA, reading activities special assignments such as reading activities on Spanish Americans and Black Americans. The last way to get points is bonus assignments, e.g., reading books for extra credit. Basically their reading program will be totally individualized and geared toward accumulating points which will be translated to a grade. 8:50. All is quiet. The teacher is

> explaining the students' responsibility for the reading program. How they should not waste time when they have their reading period, their grade is simply a function of them doing the work, and not wasting time. He gives a brief instruction on the selection of a book. 9:00. The reading period begins. He sends five students (one row at a time) to make a selection in their first reading book or to select a specific reading skill card to work on. Students go get something to work on. There is some discussion, still relatively quiet. By 9:10 all students have selected something to work on. The teacher is moving from desk to desk answering questions.

Mr. Olano is spending less time on rules of social behavior and more time emphasizing the intricacies of maneuvering through skill acquisition. The observer noted that Mr. Olano took a rather perfunctory attitude toward his class, much as civil servants might take with their employees. The tasks are clear, evaluation is based on specific criteria, common sense is to be honored, and time is to be used wisely and productively. The roles and obligations are very clearly drawn; his remarks serve more to remind than to introduce.

The child's socialization into the student role is strong. One can see the student role becoming more narrolwy defined (more specialized) across grade levels. What are the elements of this process? To examine the features of universalism, let's examine Mrs. Andrews' kindergarten class further:

> When all of the children (28) have arrived, Mrs. Andrews walks to the piano and plays three chords. "This means you are to close your books and stand up." [She repeats the chord progression.] The children all close their books but do not stand up. "Let's practice this. When I play, you close your books *and* stand up." [The teacher repeats the chords.] "James (w), you forgot something." "Oh." [James, standing, closes his book.] Five children fail on this run through. Once more and all have succeeded. "Good! "I'm so *proud* of you."

The norm of universalism has several derivative aspects. First, categories imply a relationship with other categories, e.g., the category of

"student" is related to the category of "teacher." Mrs. Andrews begins to clarify this relationship in the preceding example, by defining her role. She can instruct, "This means...;" direct, "Let's practice...:" evaluate, "James, you forgot...:" and reward, "Good! I'm so proud...." The "groupness" of the students is simultaneously being reinforced as they do the same actions, in the same place at the same time.

In responding as a group, the students are beginiing to learn of a second aspect of universalism: equity (Dreeben:1968). During the practice, James failed to close his book. Quite obviously, James is capable of closing a book and his skill in doing this is not in question. Mrs. Andrews is pointing out that he *forgot to close it at the same time as the others.* It would not be *fair* to the others if he were not required to do so. Equity--or the lack of it--is highlighted in the school setting. Equity is achieved in part by coordination. Coordination is clearly necessary when 28 students are confined to a relatively small space which is supervised by a minimal number of adult authorities. Coordination is systemized through the development of rules designed to prevent anarchy. Students are introduced to rules early:

> Half of the class is taking a tour of the playground with Mrs. Andrews. "This is the drinking fountain. Oh, oh, someone put dirt in it. Is that good?" [A chorus of "No!"] "It isn't fair to others to do that." The class strolls over the the equipment area; the teacher points to the slide. "This is the slide. One person can be on the slide at a time. Line up behind the slide. Always slide feet first.... There are only four swings to share. If you would like to swing and they are all full, this is what you should do. Stand beside the person swinging and count to ten twice. Watch their feet. When you have counted to ten twice, it is your turn."

The rules of a classroom derive from an ethic of equity. The sequence of lining up, waiting, taking a turn is endlessly repeated to instill this

dominant cultural value.

The student role represents only the portion of the child as a person. Being a student is specific to the context of school. *Specificity*, the third aspect of universalism, refers to the scope of one's interest in another. A doctor sees people as patients (potientially ill), a policeman sees people as citizens (potential law breakers) and teachers see their clients primarily as students (potential learners).

There can be tremendous variability among teachers and across grades with respect to the precept of specificity. We asked several teachers to imagine that we would be teaching at Aldertree next year and would have some of their students in our class. What did they think we should know about these students?

A kindergarten teacher said of a white female:

> She is, well, no, she's not an only child. She's a child of the second marriage of her father. There are two teenagers in the family from his first marriage. Her grandmother takes care of her during the days. She has adjusted to school. She is a content, not always to be first. She is sharp, quick, verbal, good student. Immature, she's young. She's got an October birthday...you know, in attention span-wise and everything. But I know her father, he's a teacher, she's musically inclined. She's a performer. She's performed before audiences before.

A second grade teacher states:

> Morgan? (a white female) A very sweet girl. She's quiet. She's been retained, this is her second year in the second grade. She's absent frequently. Her parents keep her home because part of the time I think she's truly sick, but I think also it's a possibility that they like her company or they imagine she's sick when she really isn't. She seems capable of doing the work, however, I find that one day she'll know somthing really well and then the next day she won't know it. Just a dramatic change there. It seems she's willing to learn, but isn't highly competitive. Gets along well with her classmates. Likeable.

A third grade teacher describes one of the chicano girls:

> Ok. Valencia if I was recommending her to another room, I'd have to say that she had been in the second grade starting this year and there was a little conflict between her and another second grade child, teasing, you know, "I'm going to get you after school" fighting stuff. So the teacher thought they ought to be separated. She thought Valencia was very qualified to do third grade work and capable of doing it to meet a challenge, so she skipped second grade work, if that's what you want to call it, and is doing what the third graders are doing on subject matter. She likes that and she has done very well. I wouldn't hesitate to put her into fourth grade at all under the circumstances. From the day she started, she did very well. She finds interesting things to talk to us about. As far as a student goes, she does very nicely. She gets a little spunky once in a while, when told not to do this or do that. That kind of gets a little irrritating, let's say with me, but that can happen to just about anybody I guess. I do notice it more in her than in others. She came into this room in October. We made that switch very soon in the year.

Another third grade teacher says:

> In my opinion, Andrea (a white) is very immature. She continues to , when she has to deal with you on an individual basis, she deals with you as if she is a smaller child. Like perhaps kindergarten age. She talks in baby talk, quite a bit of the time. She's silly, very flighty, very silly. She's a bright girl. She has the ability to read at or above the grade level and to do math at or above the grade level. She could be a very good student. But she doesn't seem to have the concentration necessary for long periods of time...doing work over long periods of time. She tends to have one friend at a time, and the friend has been someone younger than herself, but lately she has been choosing one person in the class to like latch on ot, be just a friend to that one person. But she does like, she likes attention. I don't think she gets a lot of attention at her own home, and I think that's a lot of the acting out she does in class. That's it.

A fifth grade teacher says:

> Randy? (white) Terrible in math! He achieves below grade level. I'd say math is his Waterloo. He just can't get it no matter what concept we're working on. Accuracy is really a problem for him. Finishing assignments is sometimes a problem for him. He's a quiet boy, well behaved in class. He tries.

Teachers at Aleertree described their students along three dimensions: academic competence, social competence and background information. We analyzed their descriptions along these variables and found two interesting patterns.

1) The older the child, the more likely he or she is to be described in terms of academic competence and the less likely he is to be described in terms of background.

2) Descriptions of social competence are not age-related.

It appears that teachers vary across grades with respect to the definition of "student." In the early years, teachers report greater awareness of home-related aspects of a child's self and less concern for purely academic skills. The shift to a skill-oriented perspective of students is very clear by the fifth grade. It appears that teachers are less willing to attribute school success or failure to factors of the home among older children. This may be because there is a belief in "general ability" that has stabilized by the middle school years, or it may be because children are expected to assume the burden of school success or failure regardless of home constraints.

Independence

Both families and schools are comprised of adults and children but the ratio is vastly different. This social structural feature importantly affects the potential extent and depth of adult/child social contacts. Parents may inquire about a child's school day and resonsably spend 15 - 20 minutes discussing it. Teachers, however, are not able to spend a comparable amount of time inquiring about an individual child's home life. As a result, one-to-one student/teacher contacts tend to be brief and

relatively infrequent. Students are forced, by sheer number, to act independently of adults; to do things alone.

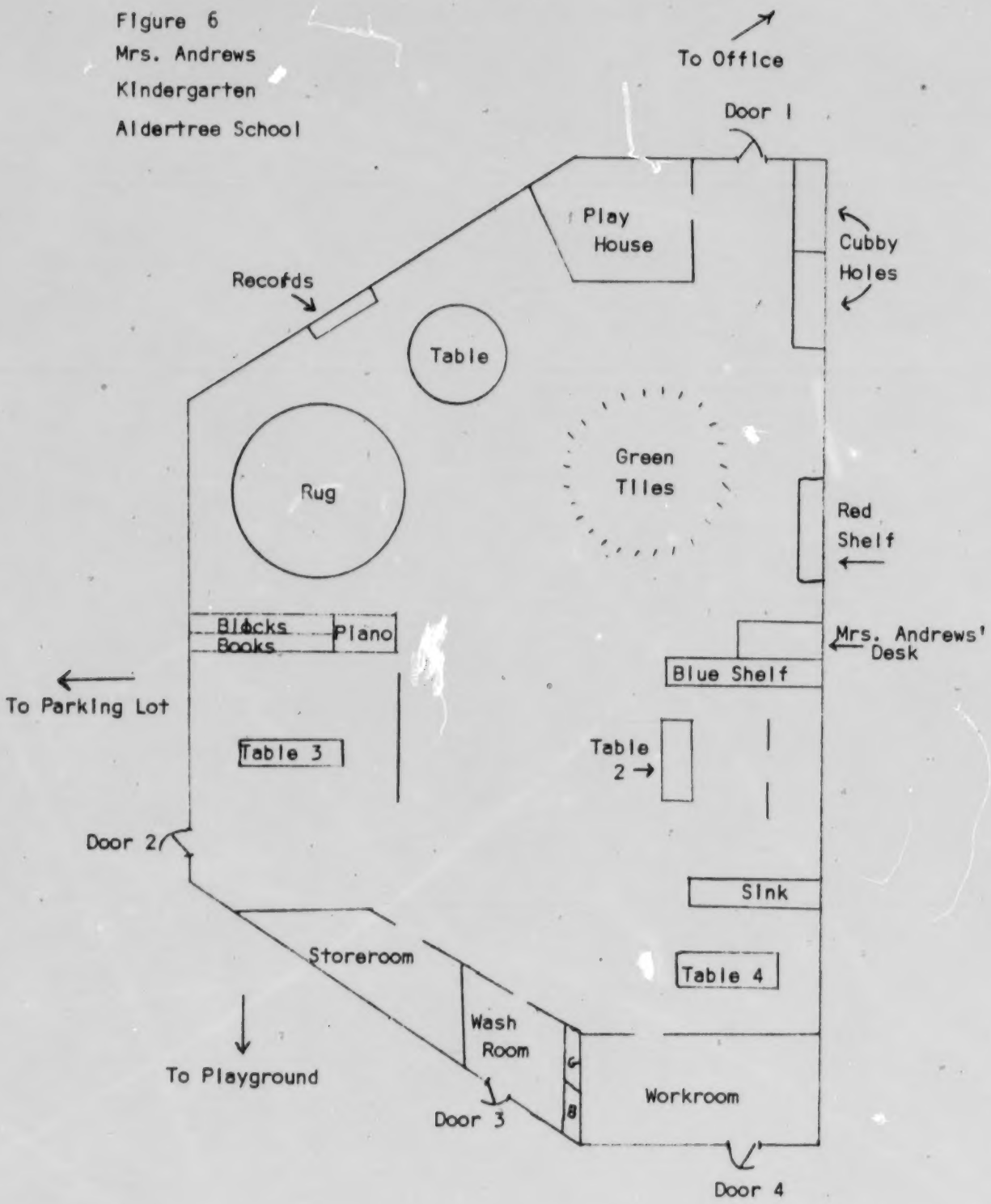
The teacher charged with productively occupying 30 young minds and bodies is set a formidable task. If the creative energies of all, or even a handful, of pupils were given free rein, the results could cause the teacher's demise; and sometimes it has. Teachers must develop ways to channel the life force of students.

In Mrs. Andrews' kindergarten, the channeling began with establishing the nature of the teacher/student relationship. The second (and overlapping) goal established the procedures for students to operate in an orderly fashion apart from the teacher. Three strategies were employed: environmental acclimation, rules of behavior, and increased adult participation.

A classroom is a distinctive environment that is quite strange to a kindergartener. Mrs. Andrews' classroom is depicted in Figure 6. On the first day, the children entered the room through door 1 (doors 2 and 3 were locked). They moved to the pedboard for their name tags, to the book shelf for a book and ended their first journey on the green tiles. When all children had arrived, the books were collected by one boy and one girl who returned immediately to the circle. Mrs. Andrews then took out a guitar and played a song and led the children as a group through two action songs from a record. At this point, she said:

> "Now we are going to have 'choosing time.' You may choose to do different things. When you're tired of doing something and you want to do something new, what do you do before you get the new thing?" "Put it away!" the children shout. "That's right," she continues, "If you choose blocks, only build them as high as your neck, because they might fall

Figure 6
Mrs. Andrews
Kindergarten
Aldertree School



> and hurt you. When you paint, wipe the brush carefully. You may now choose to do one of several things. You may do things from the red shelf, things from the blue shelf. You can play with tinker toys from the green barrel, you can paint. You can get a book from the library or you can play in the play-house."

In this short exchange with the students, Mrs. Andrews has acquainted the children with classroom activities, given some guidance about how to use them and prepared them for making limited choices among activities. As the school year progressed, these strategies were supplemented with another to develop self-reliance.

> Wendy (w) approaches Mrs. Andrews who is standing in the middle of the room. She says "Cherie took my stamps and won't give them back." Mrs. Andrews asks "Does that make you sad?" "Yes." "Did you tell her how it makes you feel?" "No." "Then tell her how it makes you feel."

Mrs. Andrews consistently responded in this way. She encouraged the students to settle their disputes among themselves. By doing this, she promoted a sense of responsibility for social relations among her students and avoided having to take sides in the argument. The kindergarten teachers seldom assumed the role of arbiter of disputes, a fact that distressed more than one observer. As observers, our impulse was to immediately comfort and attempt to settle each disagreement as it arose. With time and much restraint, however, two things became clear: 1) if teachers did respond this way to all disputes, they would do little else, and, 2) more often than not, the children involved had dismissed the altercation within five minutes or so. Even though a child might be brought to tears, it would be over quickly. Teachers would intervene to protect the safety of a child, but would arbitrate only when repeated occurences indicated a "real" problem.

Achievement

Achievement is the norm least dependent on social structural features on the learning situation. Whether an individual is pursuing a course of self-study or is being lectured by a professor with 300 others, the obligation of a student is to achieve. Achievement denotes increased competence or understanding and is usually measured against some standard. Achievement may refer to cognitive growth but also includes expanded awareness of self and others and compliance with institutional norms.

At Aldertree, the proportion of time spent on each of these three kinds of achievement varies with the grade level. In kindergarten, the major focus is on social growth and institutional adaptation; third grade stresses the three fairly equally; while fifth grade focuses predominantly on the cognitive domain.

Kindergarten teachers emphasize *how* things are done much more than *what* is done:

> "I'm proud of the way you put the puzzles on the rack. You did it just right," says Mrs. Andrews.
>
> "When we paint, we have some rules," Mrs. Friel explains. "First, we always wear an apron. We keep the aprons here." [She points to a shelf near the easels.] "We keep the paints and brushes here. When you finish painting, remember to clean your brushes. We clean our brushes and wash our hands on this side [of the sink] and get a drink on that side. When you finish painting, tell me or Mrs. Andrews and we'll hand your painting up." [Later.] "Good, Tracy. I like the way you cleaned your brushes."

Mrs. Friel is explaining painting to her students. She talks about what to wear, where to get the materials, where to clean the brushes and what to do when finished. Among these carefully defined expectations, there is no guideline for use of color, composition or aesthetics. Tracy is

rewarded not for the quality of her painting, but for her skill at cleaning her brushes. The overwhelming proportion of rewards in the kindergarten are given for procedural competence.

Social growth is very important to Mrs. Andrews. In a discussion concerning how teachers know if they are doing a good job, she said:

> "The most important indicator of success to me is the growth and development of a child's self-concept. I feel a personal satisfaction when seeing a shy, withdrawn child begin to relate to others and participate in group activities...Another indicator [] is knowing that I've helped to promote independence in the child. I feel good when I see a child start to rely on himself and take the initiative to handle his own problems."

Formal cognitive training begins on the first day of kindergarten as students are tutored in shapes and colors. By February, however, skills are practiced more intensely:

> Rusty's (b) group (the top one) is practicing writing numerals. They are at Table 4 with Mrs. Andrews. Each student has a slate and a piece of chalk. Each of the seven students also has a teacher-made book with the words "My Numeral Book' on the front. Mrs. Andrews says, "Trace over the dotted one [numeral] first. Make a whole row. If you make a mistake...What's this? You're supposed to go down, Cherie (w). Oh! She's doing so nicely! Good Jennifer (w). Very nice, Kristin (w). That's the way to do it, Rusty (b). Start at the top and go all the way to the bottom. *Very* good, Kristin...The 'ones' are easy. Do you know why you make a lot of them?" There is no response. She continues, "so you can get into the habit of making them right. You do it again and again. Now for the twos, you go..."

There is still a heavy emphasis on how to do things in third grade. During a vocabulary lesson, one of our observers noted the following:

> Mrs. Quinn says, "We're going to do some things with words and reading. Put your name on the top right-hand side of the paper. Right underneath on the next line down, I want you to write today's date. Down the left side I want you to start at the top line and number down the left-hand side like this," (she writes an example of the paper on the board).

"You should be able to get seven numbers on this paper. Check your paper against the board to see if you followed the directions right. Now in the middle of the paper, put seven more numbers. So how many numbers should you have?" Students call out "14." The teacher writes 8 through 14 on the board. She continues, "I'm going to say some words and ask you a question about the words and you write the answer next to the number. If you don't know, guess or leave it blank, then I'll know that that's something you don't know." The teacher writes "a, e, i, o, u" on the board. "The first seven questions are vowel sounds. What vowel sound do you hear in the word 'hat'?" Students call out "a." Mrs. Quinn then gives the seven questions related to that example. "Ok, the second seven things are going to be different. I'm going to say a word, and I want you to listen for the end consonant." Example: "What sound do you hear at the end of the word 'dog'?" After asking the seven questions, she says, "Keep your paper at your desk and turn it over. Ok. Get out a red crayon. I want you to turn your paper back over, and I want you to be really honest with yourself, so that I can see the ones that you maybe need some work on or some help. [She gives the answers.] If you got them all right, give yourself a big star on your paper. You can give yourself a star if you missed one. Turn your paper over, and we're going to do some spelling words before recess. Ok, the first word is 'bad.' Will you write it on your paper three times across the top? What vowel sound do you hear? Do you know a short sentence you can use the word 'bad' in? Ok. The second word has the same vowel sound." She writes 'fat' on the board and asks for a sentence. Alicia says "My meat has a lot of fat." The teacher walks around the room praising papers. "Very good, Jennifer (w). Rigo (c), you got them all right!" Then she warns, "Let's not get careless. I see some are getting a little sloppy. The last one is really short." She writes 'gas' on the board. Dawn (b) says, "My dad uses a lot of gas." Mrs. Quinn writes the sentence on the baord. She continues, "When you finish, I'll come around and give you a paper to color so we can decorate the room. If you're ready, Dawn (b) has the dittoes, so raise your hand and she'll give it to you. If you're not finished, take your time because we have fifteen minutes more. [Later.] Ok. Finish coloring the part you're working on because it's almost time for recess. Put your crayons on top of your paper." She calls names one at a time to line up at the door for recess.

It is clear that Mrs. Quinn is concerned about how the students carry out the prescribed procedures to complete their vocabulary task. However, she is also attentive to the quality of student skills. She has built an

evaluation component into the activity and although she purports to want to discover "the ones you maybe need some help on," only the students who miss one or none of the items get to draw "a big red star" on their papers. As the students are completing the task, she traverses the room, praising correct responses.

The pattern shifts in fifth grade. Mr. Olano has structured the academic component in the tradition of individualized programmed learning. Spelling, math, reading and social studies tasks are routine and straightforward. The quality most adaptive to this structure is, we belive, persistence. The no-fail design of the curricula favors the student who is willing to do *more* rather than better. Grades are a function of the number of worksheets or learning packages completed.

During the second week of school we observe Mr. Olano:

It is 9:00. Mr. Olano is seated at his desk in the front of the room. Thirty students are sitting in seven rows, four to five individual desks to a row.

B(w)	B(c)	G(w)	B(w)	G(b)	B(w)	G(c)
G(w)	B(w)	G(w)	G(b)	B(c)	G(c)	B(w)
B(w)	G(w)	B(w)	B(c)	G(w)	B(b)	B(b)
G(b)	G(c)	G(w)	G(w)	B(w)	G(b)	B(w)
	B(c)				G(b)	

TEACHER

The individualized reading materials are located along the wall to the right of Mr. Olano's desk. Most of the reading sequences are color or letter coded. The students have been working on the "reading" since 8:20. They are responsible for choosing (within sequence) an activity, marking answers on a response sheet or on a ditto sheet then taking it to Mr. Olano to be corrected. As each step is successfully completed, the cycle is repeated. "Instruction' in the sense of challenging, inquiring, extending ideas, is not happening here. Karen (w)

> is staring out the window. Mr. Olano observes her and says, "Karen, didn't your mother tell you what was in the note yesterday?" Karen glances at Mr. Olano, looks at her reading activity, and begins to read. [I asked Mr. Olano later about the content of the note. "I had to send a note home about wasting time."] Betty (b) hasn't been working on her reading assignment either. At 9:05 she takes her folder out, pulls out a completed response sheet and walks to Mr. Olano's desk. Mr. Olano picks up a marking pen, runs down the columns with it and returns the sheet to Betty. "Betty, you need to go over these again." Betty doesn't verbally respond; she turns toward her desk with a disgusted look on her face. When she reaches her desk, she throws the paper down and slumps down in her seat. The classroom is absolutely silent. At 9:10 Mr. Olano stands up and begins to walk down the rows of students. He is checking whether they are following directions. Apparently, all students are ok on this point. At 9:12 he completes his check and announces, "This is the end of reading." As a body, all students put their reading folders away and pull out their spellers.

This classroom proved to be particularly difficult for the observer assigned to it. Superficially, there was an overwhelming sense that little was *happening*. The opening rituals (roll call, lunch count, pledge to the flag) were handled with quick dispatch and the routine of reading, spelling, math and social studies followed with inevitable regularity. Interaction among children occurred surreptitiously, not legitimately, except during spelling where partners drilled one another. The structure was designed to mitigate substantive verbal interaction. Students either worked alone on a contract-based individual program at their own pace or performed as a whole group.

The last hour of the morning is devoted to physical education. The students move to the upper grade playground for this period.

> 11:15. Mr. Olano announces, "We're on PE time now. Nick (w) get the basketball for us; the rest of you line up." They march to the upper-grade playground. Mo (b) and Bill (w) are asked to choose sides for a basketball relay. The only restriction in choosing is that the teams must have an even number of girls. Since only one girl (Helen (w)) is selected before the boys are all chosen, the teams are evenly divided

> by sex. Race is not a distinguishable factor here. "We are going to have a relay race shooting lay-ups," Mr. Olano announces. Of course, for fifth graders, a lay-up is a very difficult shot because these are ten feet high baskets. Even the boys, especially the smaller ones, find it difficult to do well on this task. Each team member must, in sequence, shoot a basket to win. The boys generally take a few times to hit it; the girls take many times. It takes them fifteen minutes to get through because the girls took so long; and the boys weren't much better. One team won, and they decided to do it again because there was still some more time. During the shooting of the basketball, the rest of the members on the team are yelling and screaming, trying to give advice. They are frantic every time someone misses. The team that lost the first time got off to a much better start in the second game until it was Claudia's (w) turn. Claudia, the last to shoot, is a very small, frail girl. She is having great difficulty making the lay-up. She is the last member of her team to shoot, the other side still has half their team to go. All she has to do is to hit the basket once for her team to win. She does not. The other team is able to run their other six or seven students through and win the contest while Claudia is still trying to get that ball through the goal. The team that finally does prevail is happy. The team that loses is unhappy, especially since they lost the first game. Claudia also took a long time to hit a goal the first game. Her team is chastizing her and talking negatively about her. She feels miserable. She is seeking the one person in the class who is her friend, Karen (w), immediately as the class goes back to the classroom. [Later] Mr. Olano is handing out dittoes labeled, "I'm the only me!" One of the items on this ditto is: What embarasses you and what makes you proud? Claudia wrote: "I get embarassed when I make somebody lose a game. I feel proud when I make somebody win a game."

These two excerpts from the field notes are more revealing in what is not noted than in what is. Mr. Olano is setting tasks--both within and beyond the classroom--and leaving the students to their own devices to learn. The absence of any active *instruction* on his part is striking. He wants to see students working and as long as they are, he does not interfere. During PE, most of the students had trouble shooting baskets; yet, he did not intervene to coach them on this skill. Even Claudia's obvious humiliation did not spur him to intervene. One senses that he feels the standards and rules have been internalized as much as possible,

and it's up to the students to cope within the social setting. Perhaps, Claudia's mention of her embarrassment stirred a responsive chord in the students, but as far as the teacher's behavior indicates, the burden of failure is entirely on her shoulders.

In another section, we discussed the "Parade of States" sponsored by the fifth grade. Claudia, who caused her team to lose the basketball relay, won the grand prize for her entry. The students responded to her winning by complaining that she (as most students actually did) had considerable assistance from her family. Henry (1965) calls this attitude "carping criticism," (pp. 302-305). He attributes it to hostility vented when one among many succeeds. In Mr. Olano's class, it also occurs when one among many fails.

The normative outcomes of schooling, universalism, independence and achievement, are a product of the school's structural arrangements and behavioral patterns of teachers. Dreeben (1968) argues that these norms are more effectively acquired in schools than in the family context. At Aldertree, the emergence and evolution of normative patterns is clearly seen across the three grades discussed here. Although the social structure promotes norm acquisition, the outcomes are largely psychological. The willingness to adapt to institutional definitions of self, the inclination to acceptthe need to work alone and coping with tasks on the basis of skill mastering are indicators of the effectiveness of socialization and importantly affect how a student is viewed by adults in the school.

School socialization is deeply embedded in the distinction between adults (teachers) and children (students). It is the process of "be coming normal" in a given cultural context. We have examined three

levels of socialization; the next section will examine an aspect of this process in one classroom.

VII

OF CONTEXTS AND CLOWNS

Daily lesson plans chronicle the "real" business of school: vowels and consonants, consonant blends, one and two digit addition and subtraction, taking credit for tasks well done, and skipping rope successfully are a few appearing in the early weeks of the first grade. But, teachers' conscious efforts to dispel ignorance, induce positive self images and regard for one's fellows and (usually to a lesser extent) improve physical coordination, assume a logic that extends beyond pure subject matter content.

More intensely at the beginning of a school year but continuing throughout teachers and children discover and define what forms of verbal and non-verbal behavior are appropriate in what social context. This involves not only syntactic and semantic competence in a shared language but social competence (Hymes:1974). Social competence involves not both the ability to accurately encode and decode linguistically and the ability to do so in a manner that is situationally appropriate. It entails knowing what context one is in as well as knowing when the context changes.

Contexts are constituted by combinations of people in a particular location doing something in a specific manner at a point in time (Erickson, F. and Shultz, J.: 1978). They consist of mutually shared definitions of the situation and the behaviors people emit on the basis of those definitions. Contexts may endure for a lengthly period or occur for just a moment, e.g., an important speaker may address an

audience for 45 minutes, crack a joke and continue speaking for another hour. Learning to "read" the context and adjust one's behavior accordingly is a fundamental aspect of social competence.

How does one know when a context has changed? Fitzgerald (1975) argues that contextual shifts are noted by not one but a multiplicity of cues that simultaneously signal junctures. These cues can and usually do include postural shifts, words or phrases, changes in viaual focus, speech tone and rate, topic and linguistic code. Combinations and recombinations of these contextualization cues occuring sequentially over time signal to participants changes in expected and appropriate behavior.

The meanings attached to a cue or a configuration of cues are of course, culturally embedded as is the determination of what is deemed "appropriate." When we consider that most classrooms especially multiethnic ones consist of rather dense populations of persons who represent a number of cultural or sub-cultural variations, the possibilities for misinterpretation of cues are enormous or, more accurately, the probability of achieving mutually agreed upon definitions of the situation can be small.

An important task for teachers, then, is to be sensitive to and sensitize students to the contexts and changes in contexts in the classroom. In this section we will focus on one classroom to illustrate this process and examine the rewards and penalities that accrue to those with varying degrees of social competence.

Shirley Maxey is a white woman in her mid-thirties. She has been a teacher for twelve years and has taught first grade at Aldertree for seven years. She would be considered an attractive woman by American

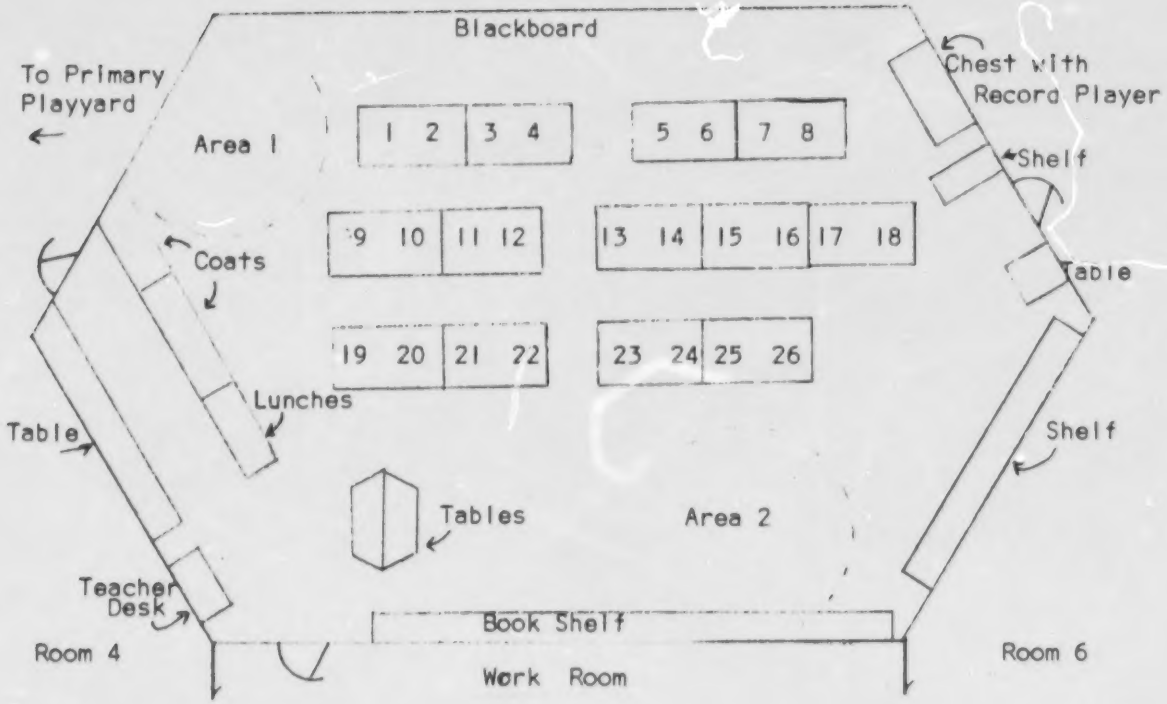
standards as she is slim with what is usually described as "regular" facial features, high cheekbones and long, light brown hair. Her presentation of self is dominated by a tentativeness (soft voice, searching gaze, careful selection of phrases) that belies the deep convictions one discovers upon knowing her more closely. Her tentativeness toward life permitted her to agree to be observed at will over a period of a year; her convictions enabled her to extract an agreement that the relationship with the study could be terminated if she thought it would interfere with her effectiveness in the classroom.

I met with her on the day before the start of school as she was arranging the small tables children would use and labeling each with a pair of names. Figure 7 illustrates the room and seating arrangement.

Miss Maxey's room is hexagonal and the walls are covered with neat arrangements of carefully prepared displays. On one wall is a series of 3" construction paper letters that spell out, "Our Classmates." On the first day of school the students will draw self-portraits that will hand below this heading. Above the blackboard one can see large black numerals on alternating red and yellow 9" x 12" sheets of paper. Upper and lower case print letters are arranged sequentially below the numerals. Upper and lower case letters are repeated below the blackboard. A bulletin board with straight-haired, brown-skinned boy with a fishing pole is entitled, "Can you count my fish?" Sets of from 1 - 5 fish are grouped around him. The next wall is decorated with a large yellow sun and a white girl who is holding eight balloons of different colors. Each balloon is labeled with the appropriate color name. Six large flowers made of tissue paper are scattered to her left. The fifth wall displays

Figure 7

Map of Room 3
Aldertree School
Shirley Maxey, Teacher
Grade One



Teacher Established Seating Arrangement: September, 1976

1 Charles (B)	2 Cheryl (W)	3 Tina (C)	4 Kelly (W)		5 Randy (B)	6 Ruth (W)	7 Nichol (B)	8 Melissa (W)
9 Eddie (W)	10 Andre (B)	11 Kim (W)	12 Frank (C)	13	13 Shereen (B)	14 Milt (C)	15 Dale (W)	16 Terry (W)	17 Juana (C)	18 Brent (B)
19 Jared (W)	20 Barry (C)	21 Luke (B)	22 Leslie (W)	23	23 Rorie (B)	24 Ted (W)	25 Samantha (B)	26 Charlie (W)		

Boys: 14
Girls: 12
Total: 26

an academic-looking owl (glasses, mortarboard), the months of the year on cutouts of cars and a large calendar labeled "September." Autumn leaves with numerals are to be added each day. The room is arranged so that a large group can gather away from the desks in the back of the room (area 2) and smaller groups to the left of the front of the room (area 1).

The first group activity on the first day of school is recounted below. Following this excerpt from the field notes, I will discuss it as it illustrates Miss Maxey's attempt to orient her new group of students. A number of contextual shifts occur within the occasion and these will be analyzed.

"Little Miss Muffet" is excerpted from our field notes of a first grade classroom on the first day of school. We note formal pedagogical stages of the lesson's development that reveal the logic the teacher is employing.

September 8, 1976 8:20 a.m. Little Miss Muffet

The students are seated on the floor in a semi-circle around Miss Maxey in area 2. She holds up a poster depicting the Mother Goose character "Little Miss Muffet."

She asks the students, "Do you know who this is?"

Ruth (w) begins to recite, "Little Miss Muffet sat on a tuffet..." Looking to the whole group, Miss Maxey commands, "Say it with her."

Most of the class joins Ruth's recitation. Miss Maxey says, "If you didn't know it the first time, try with us now."

All the students recite the poem. Pointing to the poster she asks, "How does she feel?"

Her eyes survey the whole group. Most students call out, "Scared!" "Is it bad to be afraid?" Miss Maxey asks.

A few students tentatively answer, "Nooo." Looking again at the whole

class, Miss Maxey asks, "Have you ever been scared?"

Ruth calls out, "Dogs!" Leslie (w) says, "Pincher bugs!" As they are answering, Brent (b) begins to tap his fingers on the carpeted floor. This movement catches Miss Maxey's attention. She turns to Brent saying, "Brent, fold your hands...I'm trying to think." Reflectively she says, "Sometimes people you don't know..." apparently suggesting something to be frightened of. Focusing again on the class she asks, "What other things make you afraid? Have you ever been lost? Randy, have you ever been lost?" Randy (b) nods affirmatively. "Where?" "In a store," he replies. Looking again to the group, Miss Maxey asks, "What was Miss Muffet eating?"

The students call out, "Curds and whey!" "Do you know what that is?"

The students look puzzled and don't answer. "It says here on the back (of the poster) it's some kind of milk with lumps..a milk product like yogurt or cottage cheese."

Looking up, she says to the group, "Let's everybody put their legs together and fold their hands. Where did she go when she was scared?"

The students call out, "Home!" "Where do you think she went, Melissa?" Melissa (w) responds, "I don't know." "Make up anyplace," Miss Maxey suggests. "Who did she talk to? What would her mother do?" Another student offers, "Spank her because she ran into the woods." This statement receives general approval from the class. Miss Maxey continues looking at Melissa and asks, "Don't you think she would want her to feel comforted?" There is a pause; the students and Melissa do not answer. "Melissa, whould you like to be our Miss Muffet?" Then, to the class, "Who would like to?"

Samantha (b) raises her hand. "Samantha, will be our Miss Muffet." Samantha walks to the front of the room and sits on a small chair next to Miss Maxey. Looking at Samantha, she says, "Okay. Eat your cottage cheese. (To the group) How does she like it?"

Before they can answer, Miss Maxey claps her hands sharply in the direction of Milt (c): "We have playtime *outside*!" Returning to the group she says, "I need a spider." Several students raise their hands. Charles (b) is chosen. Miss Maxey begins to chant the poem and the students join her. When they say, "...and along came a spider," Charles sits down next to Samantha who gets up and runs away. The students laugh loudly. Very quietly and intently Miss Maxey addresses the group, "Sometimes when we're nervous, we laugh. I'd like you to just watch...(to Brent) I'm going to have to ask you to sit quietly or you'll have to go to the corner. That goes for the rest of you. Milt, I'm going to have to ask you to sit quietly or you'll have to go to the corner. Milt, fold your hands or I'll have to exclude you. I don't want to have to do that. I won't say this again." The students are becoming restless. Miss Maxey invites Leslie to be the spider. The pantomime is repeated with less laughter when "Miss Muffet" runs away. Miss Maxey asks Nichol(b): "What kind of a spider are you?" Ruth calls out, "Black widow!" Terry (w) and Charles (w) call out simultaneously,

"Tarantula." Miss Maxey says to the boys, "Let *him* decide!" She looks toward Nichol who ponders a moment and then says, "Tarantula." She turns to the group, "I would like Miss Muffet to feel *frightened*. Ruth, how do you feel frightened?" Ruth seems a little embarassed. She grits her teeth and closes her eyes. "Good, That's *your* way. Leslie, how would you feel frightened?"

Leslie opens her eyes wide and jerks her body backwards. The students laugh loudly. Miss Maxey crosses her legs, folds her arms, narrows her eyes and says in a quiet, measured voice, "Raise your hand if you can read the words on the picture." She is holding up another poster. Miss Muffet is abandoned.

End of protocol: 8:34 a.m.

Embedded in the pedagogical logic of this lesson is a pattern built around a quite different aim. Here, we are referring to Miss Maxey's germinal efforts to teach her students about how to behave as effective group members as she defines it. Simultaneously, she addresses both the formal aims of the curriculum and the informal needs of an emerging social group.

From the students' point of view, the rules of social life in the classroom are manifold and varied. They include how and when to get the attention of the teacher, when and how to initiate or respond, how to use the spatial divisions of the room, how to decode cues of approval and disapproval, when to defer and when to lead, and so on. At least four "rules" for effective group membership can be located in this lesson. The following paragraphs will discuss each briefly.

Group v. Individual Initiation. Miss Maxey targets her questions in two ways: by eyeing the group as a whole and by directing a question to a specific, named individual. Her first question to the whole group ("Who is this?") elicits a response from a single student: Ruth. Miss Maxey cues thie appropriateness of a group response by requesting, "Say it with her" and reaffirms it later to catch a few nonparticipants, "If you didn't

know it the first time, try it with us now." Later, when she specifically asks Nichol what kind of spider he is, several students interpret her remark as group-directed, and they answer the question. Miss Maxey clarifies the distinction by commanding, "Let *him* decide." Both verbal and non-verbal cues are brought together to inform students of when they may and may rot respond.

How to look attentive. Teacher-student encounters demand mutual attentiveness. Since attentiveness is largely an internal, non-observable state, teachers cannot know for sure whether students are truly attending. At best, they msut make inferences from non-verbal cues. In this first lesson of the school year, Miss Maxey appears to define "attentiveness" as sitting with legs crossed and hands folded. When two students, Brent and Milt, violate her "rule" they are quickly and directly scolded: "Brent fold you hand, I'm trying to think" and"...Milt, fold your hands or I'll have to exclude you." There is, of course, no logical relationship between folded hands and thinking or learning. Presumably, adults can think in the presence of children with unfolded hands and children can learn with their hands at their sides. What Miss Maxey seems to be saying here is, "I want an indication of your attention; if you cross your legs and fold you hands, I'll believe you are hearing what I'm saying." Miss Maxey is associating "attention" with a rather specific bodily posture and infereing that compliance by the students will increase the probability that they will really be attending.

The importance of responding to direct elicitation. Silence following direct elicitations is among the more uncomfortable momemts teachers suffer; it indicates a potential break in the flow of communication. Miss

Maxey conveys the importance she attaches to responding at two points in the lesson. In the middle of the lesson, she asked Randy if he had ever been lost. The structure of the question demands only a yes or no response and Randy complies by nodding his head affirmatively. In an effort to get him to share his experience, probably her intended aim, she asks him, "Where?" a question requiring a verbal response. Randy interprets this question in the narrowest of terms by responding, "A store." She probably hoped for a more elaborate description but abandons further dialogue with Randy. Later, she persists more aggressively in attempting to get a child to interact with her. When Melissa answers a question, "I don't know," Miss Maxey prods her by telling her to, "Make up any place." Melissa fails to comply, so Miss Maxey changes the question, "Who did she talk to? What would her mother do?" Sensing the void, another student answers the question. Finally, almost in desperation, she asks Melissa to act out the role of Miss Muffet. Then, apparently giving up on Melissa for the time being, Miss Maxey returns her attention to the other members of the group. In this sequence the children are being shown not only the importance of responding as such, but in doing so according to the rhythm the teacher determines. Later, toward the end of the lesson, Ruth seems to have "learned" from Melissa's failure. Asked to look "frightehed" she immediately does so even though she is embarassed.

Knowing when the teacher "means business." Philip Jackson has reported there are as many as 1000 teacher-pupil verbal exchanges daily in the average classroom. They are quite obviously not equally important. When teachers wish to communicate something of special importance, they must do so in a way that flags the students' attention. Miss Maxey uses a combination of posture, eye contact, voice tone and change of verbal

rhythm to mark these occasions. Toward the end of the lesson, the students are becoming restless. They use Leslie's exaggerated pantomime as an occasion for releasing tension by laughing heartily. Faced with loss of control, Miss Maxey crosses her legs and arms, stares intently at the group, pauses and then begins speaking in a low, measured voice. The effect of Miss Maxey's combined physical, vocal and rhythmic reorientation is to reestablish her dominance over the students. Whereas earlier she consciously *invited* students to participate she is now overtly withdrawing the invitation. It is as if Miss Maxey had an upper boundary for participation and the children exceeded the definition. By closing off the participation she makes silent attention the criterion for her continued approval of them. But the children are not the only ones who are adjusting. Sensitive to the fact that the parameters of the lesson have overreached the students' capacity to participate fruitfully, she proceeds to cut short the lesson. She adjusts to their fitfulness by changing the activity.

In "Little Miss Muffet" we saw Miss Maxey working very hard to define the bounds of *kinds* of student participation. Throughout the lesson, she attempted to stimulate expressive behavior and encouraged children to elaborate on their rather simple and direct initial responses. The lesson was aborted when she perceived the children were no longer focusing on "Miss Muffet" but expressing themselves in other directions. In the next excerpt, "A Visit to the Zoo," we see how Miss Maxey confronts boundary problems of a different sort. This time she succeeds both in stimulating *and* focusing their performance. Again, however, she is obliged to stop short of the conclusion of the activity because the boundary on the *amount* of appropriate participation has been violated.

September 13, 1976 8:41 a.m. A Trip to the Zoo

Miss Maxey is sitting on a small chair in area 2. She is surrounded by all the students who are sitting in a semi-circle at her feet. She scans the group with her gaze moving from left to right. Her gaze returns to the central third of the group and she says, "Let's have your eyes looking at me and your ears listening." A few students are whispering. but all are looking at the teacher. She continues,"We're going to take a trip to the zoo. Are the animals running around?" Veronica (b) calls out, "No, they're in cages." Miss Maxey says, "Okay, Veronica. Will you come up here?" She extends her left arm indicating the vacant spot near her chair. Looking toward Veronica she asks, "Do you see any cages in our room?" Veronica surveys the room briefly then says, "Yes, over there," pointing to the cardboard circus train taped to the wall below the blackboard. Miss Maxey says, "Yes! Can we make cages in our room?" Melissa (w) calls out excitedly, "The tables!" Randy (b) offers, "The chairs!" Randy and Melissa get up and climb under the nearest table. As they do this, Miss Maxey stands and takes hold of Veronica's hand. She asks, "Veronica, what do you see in this cage?" She points to Melissa. Veronica replies, "An elephant." Kim (w) says, "I see a lion!" Turning toward Kim, Miss Maxey asks, "Kim, would you like to be a lion?" Kim goes directly under a table without answering the teacher verbally. Miss Maxey selects Ruth (w), Terry (w), Charles (b), Cheryl (w) to be animals. A total of six students are under the tables. Miss Maxey, still holding Veronica's hand begins to tour the "zoo." The rest of the class follows. The teacher asks each 'caged' student what animal they are: Melissa is a pink elephant, Ruth is a lion, Terry is a monkey, Charles is a snake, Cherly is a kitten and Kim claims she is a puppy dog. Approaching the center of the room, Miss Maxey says, "Is anyone selling popcorn?" Randy (still in his 'cage') calls out, "I am!" Shereen (b) follows with "I am!" Turning to her Miss Maxey says, "Shereen, may we buy some popcorn? Maybe we can feed the animals." She and Veronica pantomime 'buying popcorn.' Following the elad of the teacher, Veronica 'feeds' popcorn to Randy. The students playing animals begin to get into their roles. Tentatively they began to make appropriate animal sounds and they begin to get progressively louder; the visitors to the zoo begin to move more freely. None are attending to the teacher. Miss Maxey observes the movement and says in a loud (for her) voice, "Freeze! Everyone freeze. What do you do when I say, 'freeze'?" The animal sounds continue but the movement lessens. She looks around the room. "Cheryl remembers, Kelly (w) remembers..." The room becomes absolutely silent. Indicating area 2, Miss Maxey says, "Let's sit over here again." It is 8:50 a.m.

This episode illustrates a particularly thorny dilemma teachers face: how to stimulate learners yet maintain social order. All cultures are faced with the problem of their own survival. Effective means of identifying and disposing of threats to their existence by the physical or ideological must be developed and transmitted to succeeding generations.

This presents humankind with the difficult task of having to conserve in the presence of change; to act to preserve the group while remaining flexible enough to adapt to new challenges. Jules Henry calls this the paradox of "fettering and freeing." The need to look first to survival, he agrues, acts to subdue or restrain the capacity to learn new things. Yet, paradoxically, only by changing can a culture's survival be ensured. New challenges must be met with new ways of coping.

The paradox of fettering and freeing is strongly manifested in the classroom. Above all, teachers are responsible for the physical and emotional protection of children. Protective strategies serve to fetter individual impulses for the sake of group safety. At the same time, teachers are specifically employed to induce change in their students to "carry them through the curriculum" and"take them as far as they can possibly go" as we saw in Part IV. Teaching is thus a dialectic process with the thesis of motivation constantly being confronted by the antithesis of restraint.

In "A Trip to the Zoo" we see how successfully Miss Maxey is able to reach her objective of involving the students. Before class she told the observer that she wanted, "to get the children to express themselves freely; to move and talk without feeling self-conscious." In this case, she has certainly succeeded. What, then, went wrong? It seems to be a case of too much success. The children so caught the spirit of being animals that their movements and vocalizations quickly escalated beyond the bounds Miss Maxey was willing to tolerate for the sake of their safety. The number of threats to their security exceeded her capacity to successfully intervene should they materialize. To bring them back

to her, to reestablish her control, she flagged their attention by shouting "Freeze!" a previously established cue to stop all movement and talking. Those who quickly complied were reinforced by her noting that they "remembered." This stretching and pulling back characterized many of the activities in Miss Maxey's classroom. Children learned the boundaries of appropriate behavior not by the articulation of complex constructs but by experiencing Miss Maxey's displeasure when they were violated.

The problem of stimulation and restraint is most severe during activities involving all students. Large group activities invariably occurred either in area two where students would "share" aspects of their home life, or art work, listen to stories or give reports on an assigned topic or in the whole classroom as children acted out themes, moved to music or played a variation of follow the leader.

Large group instruction is divided between activities requiring the most passive form of student involvement (listening) and the most active (large muscle exercise). It is during these lessons that it is easiest to determine who is or will be considered socially competent in the classroom. Determining shifts in contexts attended by a large number of people is a demanding task. In Miss Maxey's class it means attending to one person's cues while screening out and ignoring as many as 25 other human claims to one's attention as well as other "noise" of the environment. One is expected to overlook accidental or intentional nudges from one's neighbors, mischevious invitations to non-verbal dialog from the student at the other side of the group and the shrieks of children at play outdoors. While screening out the illegitimate claims on one's attention, one must take care to avoid a trance-like state in the event

one is called upon to verbally interact. Reading the teacher's cues is not eased by the fact that one cannot always see what she is doing. Indeed, the students most likely to misinterpret cues in the area 2 concentric semi-circular groupings were consistently those sitting on the outside ring to the far left or right of Miss Maxey.

The whole group movement exercises are equally complex but for different reasons. During "a trip to the zoo" and other similar activities students are required to create their own small worlds within the parameters of the teacher's larger world. They are like moons circuling a planet--the force of their movement pushes them outward, gravity pulls them in line. Sometimes the balance is destroyed.

Within the first weeks of school three students emerged as "difficult," i.e., students who rather consistently exceeded Miss Maxey's explicit and implicit boundaries for appropriate behavior. Almost as many corrective statements were directed toward Jared, Brent and Milt than to the rest of the students combined. Brent and Milt stood out during the Miss Muffet lesson the first day of school; Jared did not join Miss Maxey's class until the second week of school but gained his reputation nearly as quickly. What was it, we wondered, that set these three boys apart from the rest of the class? Although they are ethnically dissimilar (Brent is black, Milt is a chicano, Jared is white) they are socio-economically similar. Each lives in a single family dwelling in the same tract with both parents one of whom works outside the home. Brent's father works for the postal service, Milt's works for the regional gas and electric company and Jared's father is the minister at a local Baptist church. None of the boys have distinguished themselves academically;

they vacilitate between the middle and low reading and math groups. What they do share is a common approach to the definition of social contexts that is both literal and ungeneralized. That is, there is little articulation of their non-school worlds with that of the classroom and their attempts to mesh them evince an understanding of surface meanings that is unsupported by a knowledge of another person's implicit intentions or of the underlying characteristics that relate two similar but temporally distinct contexts.

Surface vs. Embedded Meaning

The observor in Miss Maxey's room is struck by the flow of children throughout the day. Activities are marked as much by *where* they take place as by when or what takes place. Getting from point A to point B in an organized fashion then is important especially if the movement is from a dispersed to a focused grouping. To encourage a more moderate and measured passage from their desks to the tightly packed semi-circles of area two, Miss Maxey advised, "I always appreciate those who are first because it usually means they're the most polite." Within 30 seconds all but two students had reached area 2. Milt and Brent had hardly moved--were hardly moving--toward their destination. With concentrated seriousness they were moving in slow motion trying to be last. When Miss Maxey realized what they were doing she giggled taking it as a joke on her. The quizical, bewildered expressions on the faces of the boys belied their participation in a joke: they were responding literally to Miss Maxey's directive. They missed the embedded meaning of her message, i.e., "don't run in the classroom, there's no prize for being first here."

A literal orientation to rules that most of one's group understands symbolically can lead to humiliation. In one instance, Jared was playing

a simple board game (Candyland) with Nichol, a black student. Jared knew the rules (as did Nichol) and followed them faithfully. Nichol, on the other hand, took a creative approach to the game and resorted to extra-regular procedures to assure a win. Although to the observers and at least two other students Nichol's subversion of the rules was clear. Jared remained oblivious. To Nichol's boast that he won Jared responded, "I bet I win next time!" And the three children nearby laughed.

Milt, Brent and Jared are three children some teachers would describe as "not having it." They began and ended the school year slightly out of step with most of the other children. Their attempts to do what they thought was expected of them were exaggerated frequently evoking laughter from those around them. At first the laughter seemed to confuse them. They would raise their eyebrows as if to ask, "Where's the joke?" Over time, the looks of confusion gave way to their own laughter--an attitude of "if you can't beat them join them." Ever so logically Milt, Brent and Jared became the class "clowns." Failing to appropriately assess and act in terms defined by and shared by the rest of the group, they learned how to redefine it for themselves, to stand outside the mainstream.

There are, of course, risks associated with the clown's role. Whether intentional or otherwise, laughter can be disruptive. Miscalculating when the teacher can tolerate such releases will bring swift punishment in the form of sharp words and exclusion from acitivites. The three boys each had their way of handling punishment. Milt became morose and by mid-year his mother requested (and received) a transfer to another classroom. Brent's anger was released by long tantrums. He would mutter, flail

about on the floor and then cry. After 20 minutes or so he would call to Miss Maxey and with downcast eyes say he was ready to rejoin the group. Jared was a stoic, sitting silently until invited to return.

If there is one quality that can be said to distinguish these three boys from the other children it would probably be what we call patience. To be a member of a group of 27 persons demands a great deal of patience. To constantly attend to the context, to be ready to act when called upon and wait when it is not one's turn is a prodigious feat expecially if one is six years old. Fortunately for the three, Aldertree provides other avenues for success that do not require this quality in such large measure. The teacher aide and parent volunteers free the teacher for some individual work with students like Milt, Brent and Jared. A special reading teacher permits them an opportunity to perform in a different setting with different rules. And, finally, it is possible to transfer to another teacher if things really do not work.

VIII

Reflections and Recommendations

If the definition of a successful multi-ethnic school is a distribution of benefits across groups that is not predicated on membership in a particular group, then Aldertree is clearly a successful multi-ethnic school. What have we learned by examining Aldertree School and where do we go from here?

The example of Aldertree is socially important in that it stands as evidence that the public school system in the United States can tolerate at least one instance of ethnic integration. The promise of Aldertree is further enhanced by the fact that it emerged *in situ* as a real world phenomenon rather than as a product of direct judicial or social scientific intervention. This means that the goals of harmonious interethnic relations and sequal status participation in the benefits of schooling are not, in principle, unattainable illusions.

Scientifically, the experience of Aldertree supports the growing realization among sociologists and anthropologists that desegregation is not a single phenomenon that can be easily explained or treated with a uniform set of prescriptions. As Cohen has noted, "what happens to children inside a particular desegregated school is a product of changing socio-historical focus which brought this particular school to the "desegregated" state, a product of the status and power relations of minority to majority in the society and community as well as a product of the social and structural forces within the schools" (1978:1).

Aldertree School is a product of a fortuitous configuration of a host of forces that favor the development of equal status relations.

It is a neighborhood school serving a socioeconomically homogeneous and residentially integrated population. Aldertree parents and children "own" their school in ways it would be difficult to accomplish were it located outside the neighborhood. Black children are not bused to a school that is white turf or vice versa; Aldertree has always belonged to all of the families. Status relations among the groups are not complicated by factors of class as is so often the case in urban desegregated schools. It is also important that the balance between majority and minority students is even. Dominant-subordinate status relations are most likely to occur in situations where one group greatly outnumbers another. (Iradacola and Moore: 1978; Collins: 1978).

The adult leadership at Aldertree contribute to equal status relations among children by supporting a rather specific set of norms for interpersonal relations. In the lower grades teachers spend considerable time promoting positive feelings about one's self and others and are swift to sanction attempts to gain prestige that depend on diminishing the worth of others. Transfer students into the upper grades--particularly if they come from the tough ghettos of larger cities--are initially bewildered by these norms. The aggressive, assaultive behavior that was an avenue to high status among their peers is, quite simply, not tolerated at Aldertree. Of equal importance to Aldertree is the principal. He keeps a close eye on the various, often competing factions within and without the school and has developed strategies for negotiating conflicts that are particularly effective. Paradoxically his considerable power derives from an acknowledgement of the limitations of his authority.

Coupled with extensive knowledge of the children, their parents, teachers and the central office he is able to nudge the school in a desirable direction.

A third set of forces contributes to the relationships described here. Structural features of the school and instructional program mitigate to some extent the potential for resegregation or systematic differentiation of students on the basis of ethnicity. The assignment of students to classrooms is made to insure in each a balance, between majority and minority students, males and females and higher ability and lower ability students. Tracking or streaming on the basis of ability--which is often a cover for ethnic cleavage--is not practiced. A practice that potentially threatens relations is ability grouping in the lower grades. As it happens, majority and minority students are rather evenly distributed across ability groups but I can't help but think that the balance is fragile.

Having reflected, we reach the point where one typically makes recommendations. What are the necessary and sufficient conditions under which equal status relations can develop? How can this study inform policy in the area of desegregation? However justified these questions may be, they are not answerable by this study nor are they likely to be in the near future. No single interethnic school can embody all the complexities of all interethnic schools and no single prescription or set of prescriptions can resolve the problems of all schools. If there are underlying principles that are germane to all desegregated school settings in the United States, we are a long way from discovering them; and by the time we did so, history would have taken a course that would diminish their relevance. If achieve-

ment of equal status relations among children in multiethnic schools is our aim, I see two obstacles that should immediately be addressed.

First, we must abandon the notion that there is such a thing as the urban school or the desegregated school. There is an unfortunate tendancy among researchers to lay claim to knowledge about complex phenomenon on the basis of limited inquiry. The missionary zeal that drives people to proclaim solutions is admirable but not instrumental. If, as I am asserting, deseqregated schools are not a single phenomenon, then we might consider what dimensions differentiate among them or, alternatively, tie certain settings together. Second, researchers need to attend to the development of theory in the area of interethnic relations. The deficit theories that guided the compensatory programs of the last two decades unjustifiably blamed the victims of our social institutions. Conspiracy theories that blame "the system" do not adequately account for the apparent diversity among known instances of desegregated schools. We need a deeper understanding of how status relationships get worked out both consciously and unconsciously by the actors themselves. Finally, we need to inquire into what we mean by the terms "equal status," and "equality" as they relate to interethnic relations. For those who maintain that promotion of ethnic identity--a sense of "peoplehood"--is crucial, the experience of Aldertree would not be considered successful. Ethnic identity is consistently subordinated to one's identity as a member of the Aldertree community and this view is just as consistently supported by both majority and minority parents as it is by the school's staff. Are they victims of false consciousness or are they embracing an ideal that transcends the utility of ethnic categories?

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APPENDIX A

Instructions for Administering Sociometric Measure
Spring, 1976

Greet the teacher. Ask him/her to arrange the students so they will not be able to see one another make their choices.

Hello. I'm _____. I'm going to be asking you some questions about students in your classroom. I will describe some situations for you and ask you who you would choose.

First, I would like each of you to take one of these pieces of paper. *(Pass out the sociometric forms.)*

Please write your name at the top. *(Pause).*

Before we begin, I'd like to tell you two things to keep in mind. First, please try to keep your eyes on your own paper. Second, when I ask you to make choices, think only of students in this class.

If you have any questions, please let me know by raising your hand. Your teacher *(give name)* or I will help you.

Are you ready?

Please write number one on your paper. *(Pause).* A *talented* person is someone who is *very good* at something. This can be anything at all. Think of three people in your classroom who are *talented* and write their names after number one.

Next, write down number two. Think of the children in your classroom you enjoy playing or spending time with. Write down the names of the three people you play with the most.

Write down the number three. Think of some students in your class you do not play with very often but would like to. Write the names of three people you would like to play with more often.

Last, write down the number four. Think of some children in this classroom who do very good school work. Write down the names of three people in your class who are very good at school work. When you are finished, turn your paper over and I will collect it.

When you have collected the papers, thank the teacher and the class for their time and cooperation.

Instructions for Administering Sociometric Measure
Winter, 1977

Greet the teacher. Ask him/her to arrange the students so they will not be able to see one another complete the form.

I am interested in how much you play with different people in your class. Today I'd like you to help me by filling out this form. *Pass them out saying:*

Here is a list *(hold up)* of all the students in your class and a marker *(hold up)*. Wait until I've finished passing out these before you mark them. *(Pause)* Take your marker and find your own name. Circle it. *(Pause until they have finished.)*

Now, think about the students in this class. Think about how much you play with each classmate. If you play with someone almost all the time, circle "most;" if you play with someone quite often, circle "a lot;" if you play with some one now and then, circle "some;" if you haven't played with someone yet, circle "not yet."

Do you understand? *(Pause)* Are there any questions? *(Pause)* Let's do the first one together. Put you marker under the first name *(give name)*. Circle "most" if you play with him/her almost all the time. Circle "a lot" if you play with him/her a lot of the time. Circle "some" if you play with him/her now and then. Circle "not yet" if you haven't played with him/her yet or if you don't know him/her. You may choose as many people as you wish for each group. Perhaps you don't play with anyone most of the time or maybe you play with three or four people most of the time. Write down what is right for you.

It's very important to me that you be very quiet as you write your choices.

For grades kindergarten through three continue administration line by line. For grades four through six, ask them to continue on their own. Be alert for students who are having trouble.

When you have collected all the forms, thank the teacher for his/her time and cooperation.

APPENDIX B

Teacher Interview Outline
Aldertree School
Cypress School District
Spring, 1977

1. In what community were you born?

2. Where were you raised? *(If in doubt, where individual spent majority of first sixteen years.)*

3. What is your national origin on your father's side?

4. What is your national origin on your mother's side?

5. Can you recall what you thought about yourself when you decided to enter teaching? What I mean is, can you remember what qualities you felt would fit well with teaching as a line of work for you?

6. Think about the teachers you had yourself at one time or another. Which do you consider outstanding? Will you describe one for me?

7. Of your past teachers, is there one you consider irresponsible? Will you describe him or her for me?

8. I know it's not easy to state clearly, but would you try to explain what you try to achieve as a teacher.

9. Realistically, what kind of future do you see for your students?

10. Thinking about the students you are teaching here at Aldertree, what things do you consider most important for them to experience?

11. Every so often, teachers tell me they have a really *good* day. Could you tell me what a good day is like for you? What happens? How do you feel?

12. Most of us have some occasions *(we hope rare)* when we feel ashamed of something we've done. What kinds of things may have happened which you regretted having done?

13. What do you consider to be your major responsibilities to the principal?

14. What do you consider to be your major responsibilities to your fellow teachers?

15. What do you consider to be your major responsibilities to the parents of your students?

16. As a teacher, you are expected to confer with parents here at school. How do these conferences affect what you do in the classroom?

17. Here is an outline of an Aldertree classroom. Will you sketch in your own room? Please tell me about your room.

18. On the first day of school this year, who decided where your students would sit?

    If teacher decided, how did you arrange the seating?
    If students decided, what arrangement did they choose?

19. From time to time, many teachers find it helpful to rearrange seating. What changes have you made this year? Why?

20. Do you find it easier to teach a particular subject at a particular time of day? Please describe the things you do during a typical day. *(Elicit where teacher goes and what is done during recess and lunch breaks.)*

21. As the students we teach change from time to time so do some of the ways we teach. Will you describe something you are doing differently this year than last year?

    Why did you decide to try something different?
    What differences has it made?

22. What subject or activity would you add to your curriculum if you had both the time and money to do so?

23. As you know, Aldertree's students represent several ethnic backgrounds. Do you see any special problems related to this? Do you see any advantages?

24. Do you find that some students work well together while others do not? If yes, what kinds of students work well together? What kinds do not?

25. What qualities in students are helpful to success here at Aldertree?

26. What changes at Aldertree would help you better achieve what you are trying to do?

27. Please recall some occasion when you felt especially proud of something you achieved as a teacher. Will you describe it for me?

28. I know it's difficult to state clearly, but what indicators do you use to tell how well you are achieving what you wish?

29. What kinds of things does Mr. Egan look for to know how well you are achieving? Your colleagues? Parents?

30. Before we close, is there anything not covered so far that you would like to share with me?

Instructional Aide Interview Outline
Aldertree School
Cypress School District
Spring, 1977

1. In what community were you born?

2. Where were you raised?

3. What is your national origin on your father's side?

4. What is your national origin on your mother's side?

5. Looking back, what were the major attractions of being an instructional aide when you decided to interview for the position?

6. Can you recall what you thought about yourself when you decided to become an instructional aide? What I mean is, what qualities did you think would fit well with the position?

7. I know it's not easy to state clearly, but would you try to explain what you are trying to achieve as an instructional aide?

8. Every so often, people at Aldertree tell me they've had a really *good* day. Could you tell me what a good day is like for you? What happens? How do you feel?

9. Most of us have some occasions *(we hope rare)* when we feel ashamed of something we've done. What kinds of things may have happened which you regretted having done?

10. Instructional aides are a relatively new addition to Aldertree. Would you please describe your responsibilities here?

11. Looking back on the past year and a half, what changes have occurred in your responsibilities?

12. Here is an outline of an Aldertree classroom. Will you sketch in your own room? Please tell me about it.

13. Most feel that some students work well together while others do not. If you agree, what kinds work well together? What kinds do not?

14. What qualities in students are helpful to success here at Aldertree?

15. As you know, Aldertree's students represent several ethnic backgrounds. Do you see any special problems related to this? Any advantages?

16. Please recall some occasion when you felt especially proud of something you achieved as an aide. Will you describe it for me?

17. I know it's difficult to state clearly, but what indicators do you use to tell how well you're achieving what you wish?

18. What kinds of things does *(name of teacher)* think are important? Your fellow aides? The principal?

19. Before we close, is there anything we haven't covered so far that you would like to share with me?

20. How has being an instructional aide affected you personally? As a member of the community? With your own child? With the school?

Specialist Interview Outline
Aldertree School
Cypress School District
Spring, 1977

1. In what community were you born?

2. Where were you raised? *(If in doubt, where individual spent majority of first sixteen years.)*

3. What is your national origin on your father's side?

4. What is your national origin on your mother's side?

5. Can you recall what you thought about yourself when you decided to enter *(area of specialty)*? What I mean is, can you remember what qualities you felt would fit well with *(area of specialty)* as a line of work for you?

6. I know it's not easy to state clearly, but would you try to explain what you try to achieve as a *(area of specialty)*?

7. Every so often, people here at Aldertree tell me they've had a *good* day. Could you tell me what a good day is like for you? What happens? How do you feel?

8. Most of us have some occasions *(we hope rare)* when we feel ashamed of something we've done. What kinds of things may have happened which you regretted having done?

9. Your line of work requires special training. Could you describe for me your major responsibilities? What does a *(area of specialty) do*?

10. What do you consider are your major responsibilities to the principal? To teachers? To parents?

11. Have your responsibilities changed over time? Please tell me about it.

12. Specialists like yourself often have an opportunity to see several different school settings. In what ways does Aldertree stand out from the others? What I mean is, for what reasons do you look forward to coming here and why might you like to avoid coming here?

13. What qualities characterize students who are successful here at Aldertree?

14. What changes would help you achieve your goals?

15. As you know. Aldertree's students represent several ethnic backgrounds. Do you see any special problems related to this? Do you see any advantages?

16. Please recall some occasion when you felt especially proud of something you achieved as a *(area of specialty)*. Will you describe it for me?

17. I know it's difficult to state clearly, but what indicators do you use to tell how well you are achieving what you wish?

18. What kinds of things does Mr. Egan look for to know how well you are achieving? Your colleagues? Parents?

19. Before we close, is there anything not covered so far that you would like to share with me?